The Outlook

MAY 4, 1921

WHY ARE PRICES STILL SO HIGH?

TO most of us, at any time, the principal problem of life is the cost of living. Most of us, therefore, will take particular interest in reading the just published reports of the Federal Trade Commission and of the Department of Labor concerning this matter.

From these reports we note that the retail cost of food and other necessities has not declined as much as has the wholesale price. For instance, comparing wholesale prices with those of a year ago, we find that food has declined 39 per cent, but the percentage decrease in the retail prices on food was 22 per cent. Thus retail prices have not come down in proper ratio to the decrease in the wholesale prices of raw materials.

With regard to other necessities, we find that clothing has decreased 46 per cent and farm products nearly 48 per cent. On the other hand, fuel and lighting materials are about 8 per cent higher than they were a year ago.

The causes of the high cost of living, according to the Federal Trade Commission, are unfair methods of competition; important elements of transportation and credit; and especially the excessive price of coal, which also vitally affects the cost of other commodities, to say nothing of the effect upon the health and comfort of the people; moreover, the existence of typical corporate monopolies; open-price associations, tending to maintain unduly high prices; interference with the channels of trade by distributer and trade associations; and, finally, conditions with respect to foreign combinations in the international markets.

The Commission suggests the following remedies:

> Legislation to meet judicial objections to the Commission's authority to continue its efforts in obtaining and publishing information respecting the ownership, production, distributing, cost, sales, and profits in the basic industries.
>
> Prosecutions under the Anti-Trust Laws with a view to strengthen them to meet present conditions.
>
> Encouragement of co-operative associations of agricultural producers and of co-operative organizations of consumers.
>
> Legislation to eliminate unnecessary reconsignments and brokerage operations, including "gambling in futures."
>
> A conference of official representatives of the trading nations to consider the question of clearing the channels of international commerce so as to eliminate undesirable combinations.
>
> Protection of the farmers by extending Federal assistance in giving more adequate and timely information concerning market conditions and in affording better market and storage facilities for the conservation of perishable products.

We note the absence of any reference to the tariff as a panacea for all ills, which is welcome; but we think it strange that no emphasis is laid upon the chief of all the causes for the high cost of living—inflation.

The Announcement of the Prize Winners in The Outlook's Second Prize Contest is on page 40

MR. LAUCK'S CHARGES

ACCORDING to the newspapers, Mr. W. Jett Lauck, the "economist" for the railway labor unions, has charged that a "capital combine" has inaugurated a policy of Nation-wide shut-downs. Mr. Lauck, so it is reported, named about one hundred men who, through interlocking directorships, have centered in a dozen institutions the control of our wealth in basic raw materials and in railways. He is quoted as follows: "This interrelated capital group deliberately deflated the farms and then undertook, by precipitating industrial stagnation, to deflate labor. The dozen financial institutions—all of them New York institutions—are:

> "The Guaranty Trust Company.
> The Mutual Life Insurance Company.
> The First National Bank.
> The Equitable Trust Company.
> J. P. Morgan & Co.
> The Equitable Life Assurance Company.
> The American Surety Company.
> The National Surety Company.
> The Mechanics and Metals National Bank.
> The National City Bank.
> The New York Trust Company.
> The Chase National Bank."

Mr. Lauck's summary of the situation, according to the newspaper reports, was to the effect that this "capital combine" molds our economic destiny; that it has the power to adjust or to misadjust relative prices in a manner to stimulate or to suppress industrial activity; that this "focal capitalist group" has deliberately maintained high prices of steel, cotton, cement, and other basic materials;" that "the railways, financed by the same interests, have refused to place orders for plant maintenance, or even the orders necessary to prevent plant and equipment deterioration;" finally, that the greater factors in American industry "are all closely bound together by inter-capitalist relations and interlocking directorates coming to focus in the house of Morgan." While the railways are pleading poverty, the banks, we read, "are making unprecedented profits and declaring unprecedented dividends, and the same applies to steel, coal, and railway equipment concerns." Finally, the "capital combine," in preparing to precipitate unemployment, adopted, it is alleged, the policy that the railways "should do it first."

With regard to these statements, The Outlook wrote to the dozen concerns in Mr. Lauck's list. The replies brought were, as might have been expected, denials of the allegations that a combination existed to deflate industry. For instance, Mr. Alvin W. Krech, President of the Equitable Trust Company, says:

> The notion that there may exist in this country a league of banking interests to break down the industrial life of the Nation is too silly to discuss, and therefore unnecessary to deny. So far as I know, the large banking interests of the country, and particularly my own company, are doing their utmost in a very difficult situation to maintain and support the Nation's activity. If a denial of the ridiculous charges said to be made . . . is necessary, you may make it as emphatic as the English language can frame it. . . . The charge probably developed from the loose talk originating with Senator La Follette.

Another President, Mr. Charles H. Sabin, of the Guaranty Trust Company, said:

> So far as the Guaranty Trust Company is concerned, the statement reported . . . is absolutely and unqualifiedly false. . . . Neither I nor any of my associates ever heard of such an alleged combination. . . . Mr. Lauck's statement that New York banks have combined to cause the spread of unemployment is also utterly false. . . .
>
> Any observer of the general economic situation must be aware that the existing industrial depression . . .

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is due to post-war, world-wide conditions, and that if capital went on a "strike" against society it would be striking against itself. . . . Capital, which is composed of the savings of all classes, would have more to lose than would labor. . . .

No institutions or organizations in this country have struggled harder against difficulties to preserve the financial, industrial, and commercial stability of the country throughout this period of world-wide reaction and economic readjustment than have the banking institutions of New York. . . . The burden of the situation has fallen far more heavily upon capital than upon labor. The values of securities and commodities have been deflated . . . far more than have wages.

Mr. Lauck, it would appear, has charged the financial interests with biting off their nose to spite their face—a surgical operation which they are not in the habit of performing.

IS THIS MAKESHIFT LEGISLATION?

THE House of Representatives has repassed the Fordney Emergency Tariff Bill. All tariff bills are given the name of the Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee in the House of Representatives—as, for instance, the Dingley Tariff, the Payne Tariff, and now the Fordney Tariff.

From the quick and emphatic Republican vote which the Emergency Tariff Bill received in the House one might expect that it would go through the Senate with proportionate speed. The tendency there, however, to pass makeshift measures is not as great as it is in the House.

Doubtless most of the proponents of the measure believe that the addition of import duties on agricultural products will check the importation of those products at a time when their prices have been declining rapidly; that an emergency law, operating three months (the period provided for by the present bill), will help the farmer by relieving the pinch, and, indeed, will help to steady the general situation. Certainly no group was harder hit by the recent sharp decline in wholesale foodstuffs prices than that of the farmers. The Fordney Tariff, moreover, provides against the practice of "dumping"—that is, selling foreign goods cheaper than they are sold in the country of their origin, and prevents scaling of present tariff duties by valuations made in the depreciated currencies of Europe.

The opponents of the bill, on the other hand, who are strong in the Senate, believe that it has been drawn for its political rather than for its economic effect; that it will benefit chiefly the speculators who are holding large quantities of farming products which they bought before the decline in prices; that it is in the interest of the sugar, meat, and wool trusts; that the amount of the import taxes will be added to the price the consumer pays—according to the Democratic minority, some $2,000,000,000 would thus be added to the cost of living; and finally that, if we want to help Europe to settle her debts to us, we must be prepared to buy from her; and, as Europe can pay only in goods, we cannot be paid unless we welcome the commodities which we need and which Europe is prepared to send to us; and therefore we should avoid any possible display of sectional or National selfishness.

The Fordney Tariff is frankly experimental and temporary. It has the merit of recognizing the claims of one great body of producers who have been generally overlooked in protective tariff legislation, and who, in the interest of the whole country, should not be ignored.

International

JUDGE LANDIS OPENS THE BASEBALL SEASON

OIL BEFORE HONOR—AND NO ASSURANCE OF THE OIL

THE Senate, after a bitter debate, passed the Colombian Treaty on April 20 by a vote of 69 to 19. The Senators who voted against the treaty included 15 Republicans and 4 Democrats. The Republican Senators were Borah, Capper, Johnson, Jones of Washington, Kellogg, Kenyon, La Follette, Lenroot, McNary, Nelson, Norbeck, Norris, Poindexter, Townsend, and Wadsworth. The Democrats were Senators Dial, Reed, Simmons, and Watson of Georgia. Senator Cummins, Republican, and Senator Tramwell, a Democrat, were paired against the treaty.

We publish these names as a roll of honor.

This list of names may also be said to constitute not only a roll of honor, but a roll of intelligence, for these Senators were the only ones who voted against the poorest bargain which the American Government has entered into in many years.

With the Colombian Treaty the Government hopes to buy the unpurchasable commodity of good will. There are Senators, too, who hope to secure from the payment of this money certain commercial advantages for America which are unspecified in the treaty. We are paying twenty-five million dollars in the hope that the Government to which it is paid may endure long enough to deliver goods which it has not promised to deliver. As a guaranty of the fulfillment of this lively expectation of favors to come we are relying upon the faith of a Government which has proved faithless in the past. The chance is one which would hardly interest even a moderately cautious gambler.

BASEBALL PUT ON TRIAL

THE opening of the professional baseball season has shown by the crowded grand stands and the full-page newspaper reports that the American lovers of the game (rooters and fans, in the language of the bleachers) have not lost their interest because of the scandals and crookedness of last year. Baseball has been given a chance to establish itself in public confidence as clean sport. "In a very real sense," says the New York "Tribune," "baseball is starting fresh, with a new lease of life and a revival of good will and old-time zest and applause."

All the more, therefore, serious responsibility rests on managers and on Judge Landis, now the supreme arbitrator in baseball law and ethics. If baseball is to remain truly the National game, it must not be allowed to be used by gambling syndicates and bribe-givers.

At the opening of the season Judge Landis issued a statement to the players. He told them frankly that every player who makes an error in a game or who fails to play up to the standard expected of him will fall under suspicion. There are charges even now circulating that baseball players are planning to make money out of their own misplays. Hugh S. Fullerton in the New York "Evening Mail" recounts some of these charges. One, for instance, is that the team to win this year's pennant is already decided upon. Another is that a pitcher is to get money for home runs made off his pitching. Certain of these stories Mr. Fullerton has himself disproved. The chances are that none of them are true at all. The fact that they are circulating, however, is an indication of the state of mind of the people who patronize ball games.

There is a strong feeling that the exposures of last year were not followed by sufficiently severe and drastic punish-

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TELL IT TO UNCLE

CARTOONS SELECTED BY OUTLOOK READERS

Perry in the Portland Oregonian

HE HELPED WIN THE WAR AND HE'S NOT GOING TO TAKE A BACK SEAT

From Ethel S. Mack, Monroe, Oregon

Thomas in the Detroit News

WHICH NOBODY CAN DENY

From James M. Niles, Detroit, Mich.

Clubb in the Rochester Herald

CAN'T WORK AND SMOKE TOO

From E. C. Kirk, Rochester, N. Y.

Williams in the Indianapolis News

IF AS ADVERTISED

From Mrs. Frank Leslie, Indianapolis, Ind.

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ment. A few members of the Chicago White Sox who were dismissed for their offenses last year have attempted to capitalize the scandal by forming a free-lance club (called in derision the Black Sox) to travel about and give exhibition games; but their enterprise has not met with any marked public favor or patronage. Perhaps the exposure will insure a clean game this summer; if it does not, the only hope for the restoration of baseball to its pre-eminence as an honestly fought game, which attracts its aggregate attendance of millions of onlookers who want to see athletic skill and honorable contest for the two pennants and the final World's Championship, lies in getting at "the men higher up" who have besmirched baseball for sordid greed.

There are sixteen clubs in the two major leagues. There are thousands of local clubs—school or amateur or just boys. Tens of thousands of games are played every fine holiday all over the country. Perhaps we think too much of professional baseball and too little of the game as it is played for fun and exercise by our boys and young men. In the larger sense baseball is with us to stay.

BRINGING GERMANY TO TERMS

MAY 1, 1921, has long been fixed as a definite and very important date in the settlement of the war. According to the Treaty of Versailles, the amount of damage which Germany did to the civilian population of the Allied and Associated Powers and to their property was to be determined by a Reparation Commission, whose findings were to be concluded and notified to the German Government on or before that date. Pending the full determination of the claims of the Entente Powers, Germany was to pay "during 1919, 1920, and the first four months of 1921, the equivalent of 20,000,000,000 gold marks," which is about $5,000,000,000. This payment was to be made in "gold, commodities, ships, securities, or otherwise." At a conference in London in January the Entente Allies presented to Germany a bill of 226,000,000,000 gold marks, which is about $55,500,000,000, plus a 12 per cent export tax—all to be paid within a period of forty-two years. On March 1 Germany made a counter-proposal of a sum which was totally unsatisfactory.

The Germans made an appeal for mediation to President Harding, which was courteously, but definitely, refused in a note issued by Mr. Hughes, Secretary of State. Now, at the last minute, under the menace of invasion if the terms of the Treaty are not complied with, the German Government has, it is reported, increased its offer to a sum which, if immediately paid, would amount to about $12,000,000,000; this with interest over forty-two years would amount to about $49,000,000,000. Thus Germany and the Entente Allies would seem to be approaching a common agreement.

Germany's promise to pay, however, is not equivalent to payment. In the first place, there is the demand for an immediate payment on May 1 for part of the reparations; this probably, however, will be extended by some days of grace. In the second place, some method must be devised by which the ultimate payment will be assured, for German promises have not been equivalent to performances.

International

GENERAL DEGOUTTE

With a notable record in the late war, this distinguished French officer is now emphasizing his service to his country by his administration of that part of the Ruhr region taken from Germany and occupied by France. Should the entire region be so occupied, General Degoutte would seem to be the most appropriate choice as Military Governor

By the time this issue of The Outlook reaches its readers the Entente Allies may have agreed upon definite measures to enforce their demands. Great Britain has virtually agreed with France that if something definite is not forthcoming French troops may march farther into the German industrial district known as the Ruhr.

The present situation is very unstable. It is quite uncertain what may happen from day to day. The German offer has not been officially divulged. All that is publicly known as we write is that Germany has made an offer; the amount of 200,000,000,000 gold marks (as against the Entente demand of 226,000,000,000 gold marks) has been stated, coupled with a suggestion for mediation.

Germany's course has been evidently with the object of prolonging the negotiations as far as possible and avoiding thus a definite committal until it can no longer be avoided.

Germany is virtually in the position of a bankrupt concern whose pledges are not to be trusted. Of course Germany cannot pay in gold, and the nations would not be well served if they were paid in gold. What Germany can pay must be chiefly in labor and in commodities. The problem is to secure such payment without flooding the markets of the world with German goods or admitting Germany in unequal competition with the labor of her neighbors. It seems as if the only way out were by establishing something which would correspond in commercial life to a receivership. It may be that the occupation of the entire Ruhr district, if it is undertaken, will be in the nature of a partial receivership.

THE PLEDGE TO SOUTH AMERICA

BEFORE a notable gathering of representatives of North and South America President Harding delivered an address at the unveiling of the statue of Simon Bolivar in New York City on April 19. A picture of this statue, a gift of the Government of Venezuela was published in last week's Outlook Perhaps the most significant portion of President Harding's address is contained in his reference to the Monroe Doctrine. President Harding said:

> The doctrine proclaimed under Monroe, which ever since has been jealously guarded as a fundamental principle of our own Republic, maintained that these continents should not again be regarded as fields for the colonial enterprises of Old World powers. There have been times when the meaning of Monroeism was misunderstood by some, perverted by others, and made the subject of distorting propaganda by those who saw in it an obstacle to the realization of their own ambitions. Some have sought to make our adhesion to this doctrine a justification for prejudice against these United States. They have falsely charged that we have sought to hold the nations of the Old World at arm's length, in order that we might monopolize the privilege of exploiting them ourselves. Others have protested that the doctrine would never be enforced if to enforce it would involve us in actual hostilities.
>
> The history of the generations since that doctrine was proclaimed has proved that we never intended it selfishly; that we had no dream of exploitation. On the other side, the history of the last decade certainly must have convinced all the world that we stand willing to fight, if necessary, to protect these continents, these sturdy young democracies from oppression and tyranny.

It is perhaps not so much the fear of American aggression which has caused South America to look askance at the

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Monroe Doctrine; at least among the most advanced of the South American nations the chief resentment against the Monroe Doctrine has arisen because it seemed to them to imply a feeling of patronage on the part of the United States. Certainly there was nothing patronizing in President Harding's address—merely a frank recognition of the obvious fact that the United States is by force of circumstance physically the most powerful nation in the Western Hemisphere. A recognition of this fact is no more a claim of intellectual superiority than is a recognition of the fact that the Andes are higher than the Appalachians.

Reports from South America indicate that at present the people of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile are, so far as the United States is concerned, chiefly interested in the relationship between our country and Santo Domingo. A clarification of this situation will perhaps have greater effect on our South American relations than a reinterpretation of the Monroe Doctrine or the payment of a dole to Colombia.

THE PRESIDENT OF CUBA

OUR Government has recognized the election of Dr. Alfredo Zayas as President of Cuba.

The Platt Amendment of 1901 states:

> The Government of Cuba consents that the United States may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a Government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty, and for discharging the obligations with respect to Cuba imposed by the Treaty of Paris on the United States, now to be assumed and undertaken by the Government of Cuba.

This section of the Platt Amendment was incorporated textually into the Treaty of 1904 between the United States and Cuba.

Twice in the past the American Government has intervened in Cuba, and it is not desirous of intervening again. The Cuban elections were held last November, but it was not known during the winter who would assume office when President Menocal's term expires on May 20. On the face of the returns, Zayas, the candidate of a coalition known as the Liga Coalition, was elected. Enough votes, however, were missing or found fraudulent to furnish a possibility of throwing the victory to his opponent, José Miguel Gomez, the Liberal-Radical candidate. President Wilson sent Major-General Enoch Crowder to Cuba to confer with President Menocal as to the best means for remedying the situation. The Radicals of the Liberal party, whose candidate was Gomez, had proposed that the Cuban Congress elect a Provisional President to succeed Menocal and to serve until the result of new general elections should be proclaimed. Our Government was unwilling to consider this proposition. According to the Crowder report, it would be a "departure from the procedure provided by the Cuban Constitution and the Electoral Code and would create a precedent which would menace the orderly development of the stable government in Cuba contemplated in the treaty obligations of the Government of the United States to the Republic of Cuba." Instead of this course, the more natural course was taken of having partial elections in the districts where the Cuban courts had decreed the annulment of the previous elections. The radicals, or Liberal party, however, withdrew from them, alleging conditions of intimidation and violence. But the Crowder report says: "All necessary safeguards and guaranties had been provided."

Paul Thompson

THE PRINCE OF MONACO

The final result of the elections emphatically signifies the victory of Zayas. Our Government urges the Cuban people to accept this decision. In particular it urges that "no attempt should be made by the members of the minority in the Cuban Congress to impede the orderly procedure provided by the Constitution and the laws by preventing the Congress from proclaiming the successful candidate President of Cuba."

A PRINCELY SCIENTIST

A DISTINGUISHED visitor to this country is the Prince of Monaco.

A chief feature of Monte Carlo, in the Principality of Monaco, is its Casino, a palatial structure whose white towers rise high above the lovely garden at its base and are seen long before the traveler reaches the town. The gaming in the Casino is allowed under a concession granted by the predecessor of the present Prince of Monaco and has still a considerable period to run.

The society sought by the present Prince is a far remove from the gambling men and women at Monte Carlo. Albert Honoré Charles, Prince of Monaco, is a scientist and benefactor. Oceanography is the branch of science to which he has dedicated his life. Few men have done more work in a single field of science than has he in exploring the ocean depths. In his deep-sea dredging he has accumulated a vast store of material and his investigations have raised problems of great interest and importance, apparently involving natural laws of which we are as yet in ignorance.

As a benefactor the Prince has erected two monuments. One is the Oceanographic Museum, at Monaco. It stands on the rock of Monaco proper, projecting into the sea. A striking building in itself, it is also in striking contrast with the other and better-known building at Monte Carlo hard by. Its location is perfect for its work; the lower three stories are below the cliff's summit; they contain a great aquarium, large and small laboratories, and a hall for the preparation of the skins and skeletons of fishes. The other part of the Museum, two stories high, is above the cliff's summit. The Prince's other monument is at Paris. Seeing the need for a branch of his Monaco Museum in some great city where exhibits, lectures, and scientific courses might reach a larger number of people than at Monaco, he erected an Oceanographic Institute in the Latin Quarter, close to the Sorbonne, and thus in the student district. The building is one of the sights of Paris.

No wonder, then, that scientific societies abroad have delighted to honor this scientist and benefactor and that in this country our National Academy of Sciences is about to confer on him its Agassiz gold medal, a work of art in itself, for it was designed by that eminent medalist, Theodore Spicer-Simson. The Prince has now come to this country for the ceremony. He speaks English fluently. The results of his investigations have been published in French—some thirty or forty large, well-illustrated folio volumes.

EDUCATION "BY THE PEOPLE"

THE late Dr. Henry M. Leipziger, for a quarter of a century supervisor of lectures under the New York Board of Education, used to style the courses of popular lectures which he made

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famous throughout the country, "the University for the People." Its curriculum was largely cultural. Ernest L. Crandall, recently appointed as his successor, is changing this and, to use his own words, is expanding it into a "University of and by the People." Current events, discussions of day-by-day problems, and forum meetings in a large measure overshadow the courses in Elizabethan literature, travel, and such cultural topics, which characterized the lectures. The latter, of course, are not omitted, but occupy a less important place.

For instance, in the course of the last six months, which saw the beginning of this development of the Board of Education lecture system, in eighteen lecture centers speakers discussed weekly "The Trend of the Times," by which is meant interpretation of current events. There were weekly interpretations of the "book of the hour" by such men as Professor J. G. Carter Troop, formerly of the University of Chicago. Topics such as "The Milk Situation," "The Taxation of Real Estate," "Trade Unionism in Industry," "Buying Real Estate," and "Landlord and Tenant" were presented by authorities such as the Commissioner of Health, well-known New York real estate men, a tax commissioner, and others. Non-partisan symposiums on "What Shall the American Woman Do with Her Vote?" and debates upon the subject "Shall the United States Enter the League of Nations?" occupied the platforms of some of the centers. At other centers were lectures on subjects relating to industry and commerce. Teachers seeking to advance themselves in their profession were given opportunities to take courses in "Community Civics," "Nature Study," "Motion-Picture-Machine Operation," "Social Hygiene," and "The Peoples of Greater New York." The study of the operation of motion-picture machines is by way of preparation for a wider use of visual aids to instruction in the public schools of the city.

"Education was formerly of the doctors, by the doctors, for the doctors, a conscious effort to create a learned class, a privileged class apart," said Mr. Crandall recently. "Education has been taken over by the people. People are proceeding with education in democracy through democracy in education. . . . It seems to us that the best civic training consists in training our people to think for themselves on the problems of the day. . . . It is true that at the centers controversial subjects are discussed, but why not?"

So far as details are concerned, the new plan is of course in the experimental stage.

THE NEW ANTIOCH

THE student who works his way through college is a familiar figure in American life. An experiment is to be tried in the reorganization of Antioch College, in Ohio. It looks towards the creation of a self-supporting college.

Under the presidency of Arthur E. Morgan, a drainage engineer whose constructive ability has been applied to extensive works in the Mississippi Valley and who has been responsible for the development of the great flood prevention project in the basin of the Ohio, the New Antioch has laid out a project of tremendous promise.

President Morgan has secured the support of a remarkable Board of Trustees, which numbers among its members such men as C. F. Kettering, a successful research scientist, who is chief engineer of the General Motors Company; Henry S. Dennison, President of the Dennison Manufacturing Company of Boston, who is well known for his views on relations of capital and labor; Edwin F. Gay, formerly Dean of the Harvard School of Administration and now President of the New York "Evening Post;" and Jerome D. Greene, formerly secretary of the Rockefeller Foundation. There are also Frank A. Vanderlip, the New York banker; Gordon S. Rentschler, who contributed so notably to the war by the organization of the process of manufacturing of steam-engines for American ships; Ellery Sedgwick, editor of the "Atlantic Monthly;" George M. Verity, President of the American Rolling Mills Company, Middletown, Ohio; and other men of equal prominence and achievement.

The programme of the New Antioch aims to achieve self-support by the location of industries in a factory building on the campus. In this building it is planned to house a variety of small industries which can be operated by student labor with experienced men employed by the College in control. It is also planned to place students in the various industries in which the neighborhood of Antioch is so rich. The student who works his way through college by cleaning furnaces and waiting on the table may gain self-discipline, but that benefit is indirect rather than direct. By the Antioch plan the student will not only work his way through college, but he will also gain his support by means which will directly educate him for usefulness in after life.

The New Antioch is working to secure a faculty of men with records of practical accomplishment. It has already arranged to secure men who have been attracted to its service by the fact that they will be held responsible for the economic and professional stability of practical undertakings. The New Antioch, while stressing technical and economic subjects, will make every effort to give its students a broad cultural basis for their professional studies. Mr. Morgan, for instance, believes that the study of English is an essential even for a scientist. A friend of Mr. Morgan's recently told us that once when the head of New Antioch had received several illiterate letters from the graduates of a great university who were applying to him for a position, he promptly sent some of the choicest specimens to the president of that institution. Later, when he visited the university, he found that the students of composition were busily engaged in writing practice letters to his company, applying for positions with his firm. Evidently his admonition had been taken to heart.

The New Antioch experiment is one which educators and the general public will and should watch with interest.

PROPERTY RIGHTS AND HUMAN WELFARE

A SUPREME COURT DECISION

TWO weeks ago the United States Supreme Court handed down its decision on what are known as the rent cases. The decision is not likely to attract wide public attention or interest, because it will actually affect life in only a few of the largest cities of the country. Nevertheless there are some things about the decision that really deserve wide public attention.

Two cases were involved, one from the courts of the District of Columbia, one from the courts of the State of New York. The latter is typical, and we therefore briefly describe it. During the inflation period immediately following the World War rents enormously increased in New York City. Thousands of people found it difficult or impossible to get homes. Under the pressure of public opinion, the New York State Legislature passed a law which provided that a tenant might stay in his house or apartment at the expiration of his lease without being dispossessed by the landlord. He would go on paying the previous rate of rent until the courts had an opportunity of deciding what was a reasonable rent. The law was an emergency law and automatically ceases to operate in October, 1922, unless the Legislature re-enacts it. In a test case the complaining landlord claimed that this legislation, resulting in the confiscation of property without due process of law, was therefore unconstitutional. The

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New York courts sustained the constitutionality of the act, and the Supreme Court by a vote of five to four has also sustained its constitutionality.

In considering a decision of the Supreme Court it must always be borne in mind that the Court's function and general practice is to determine, not whether a law is wise and beneficial, but whether it is Constitutional. This case is rather a striking illustration of this principle. We have read the sustaining opinion delivered by Mr. Justice Holmes, and the dissenting opinion delivered by Mr. Justice McKenna. We do not find anything in Mr. Justice Holmes's opinion that indicates that the majority of the Court think the law is a very wise one. We certainly do not think it is a very wise one, and doubt if it will accomplish the purpose which it was framed to accomplish. On the other hand, we cannot see that permitting a tenant to retain his house or apartment without immediate dispossession by the landlord until the courts have adjudicated the matter is confiscating property without due process of law. In that respect the law seems to us to be Constitutional. It is, to be sure, another extension of the police power of the State, but in that respect the decision of the Supreme Court is not radical, for the whole tendency of the Court during the last twenty-five years has been steadily to maintain and develop the doctrine of police power. The doctrine of the police power of the State has now been firmly established in American social and governmental life.

It is true, as Mr. Justice McKenna intimates, that under this doctrine government in the United States has become something very much more than the mere protection of life and property. In his dissenting opinion he asks: "What is going to happen if Government can fix rent in an emergency on the ground that public welfare demands it? . . . If such exercise of government be legal, what exercise of government is illegal?" The answer is that the Legislature is to determine, in the first place, what exercise of government is legal or illegal, and the Supreme Court is to determine whether the judgment of the Legislature is obnoxious to the Constitution of the United States. The wisdom, expediency, or social effect of a law may be very bad indeed, but if it does not violate a principle of the Constitution the Legislature, and not the courts, are to determine its enactment.

Some people have said that this decision of the Supreme Court shows that it is composed of five radicals and four conservatives. It is always unfortunate, we think, in an important decision of the Supreme Court that the Court should so evenly divide as it has in this case, but, after all, it is desirable that the Court should have both radical members and conservative members, that it should exercise both a centrifugal and centripetal force. The history of the Supreme Court does not indicate that it ever has exercised or ever is likely to exercise a dangerously radical influence upon American life. We see nothing in this decision to indicate that the Supreme Court has ceased to be what it has been since the days of John Marshall, both the foundation stone and the binding capstone—if that is not a mixed metaphor—of our Government.

In these rent cases the rights of property and the welfare of the individual were involved in a rather picturesque and striking way. It is perhaps a good time to recall the doctrine which Theodore Roosevelt laid down in his address at the Sorbonne, in Paris, in 1910:

> My position as regards the moneyed interests can be put in a few words. In every civilized society property rights must be carefully safeguarded; ordinarily, and in the great majority of cases, human rights and property rights are fundamentally and in the long run identical; but when it clearly appears that there is a real conflict between them, human rights must have the upper hand, for property belongs to man and not man to property.

A NEW BILL OF AMERICAN RIGHTS

FROM a pin-prick on the map of the Pacific Ocean the little island of Yap seems somehow to Americans to have suddenly spread over the world, so vital, in the defense of our rights, is the international question involved.

A brief review of the facts will make clear the emphatic assertion of American rights contained in the recent note from Secretary Hughes: When in the spring of 1919 the Paris Peace Conference and a little later the Supreme Council awarded to Japan the island of Yap, in the Pacific, formerly a German possession, it was despite notice from this country through President Wilson and Secretary Lansing that the question as to Yap should be reserved with a view to a possible future agreement which might make of Yap an international cable station. But it was not until November, 1920, that Secretary Colby told Japan that Yap should not be included in the assignment of German islands to Japan because of the Wilson reservation just mentioned. Japan promptly declined to accept this view and declared that the mandate of the Peace Conference and the Supreme Council did in fact include Yap in the territory committed to Japan.

To this note from Japan Secretary Colby replied, pointing out that the award did not assign "all," but "certain" German possessions north of the equator, to Japan, and that we held that this left the matter open to negotiation in view of our repeated objections. The next diplomatic move was Japan's reply, dated February 26, 1921. This included the following statement:

> If a decision in favor of the exclusion of the island of Yap . . . had really been made . . . at the meeting of May 7, in which Japan was not represented, it could not but have been regarded as an act of entire bad faith. It is therefore inconceivable to the Imperial Government that such a decision could have been reached at a meeting at which no Japanese delegation was present. . . .
>
> The Governments of Great Britain and France, being of the same opinion as the Japanese Government on the matter, made statements to that effect in their replies to the American note in November last. . . . The question seems to be one which should be freely settled by the nation which has charge of the place, namely, Japan.

Meanwhile another statement from Secretary Colby, called out by the approval of the Council of the League of the action of the Supreme Council, declared in substance that, though not a member of the League, the United States as a participant in the late war could not consider any of the Associated Powers "debarred from discussion of any of its consequences or from participation in any of the rights and privileges secured under the mandates."

This position was amplified and emphasized by the clear and forceful statement issued early in April by Secretary of State Hughes, and addressed, not only to Japan, but to Great Britain, France, and Italy. The outstanding and important point made by Secretary Hughes was the assertion of our right to be considered in the assignment of any territory to any one of the five principal Allied and Associated Powers. The United States was an important factor in the winning of the war. Apart from this, our international rights are what they always have been and are not in any degree made less by action of other Powers taken without our assent. And, as the United States did not sign the Treaty of Versailles, we are not bound by any of its provisions.

Secretary Hughes, assuming that President Wilson's statement as to the reservations regarding Yap is correct, elaborated the position indicated above in a convincing manner. Thus, he said:

> In particular, as no treaty has ever been concluded with the United States relating to the island of Yap, and as no one has ever been authorized to cede the rights or interest of the United States in the island, this Government must insist that it has not lost its right or interest as it existed prior to any action by the Supreme

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Council or the League of Nations and cannot recognize the allocation of the island or the validity of the mandate to Japan.

Americans will welcome the definiteness of our position as laid down by Mr. Hughes and approve the refreshing vigor of his language. Both atone in some degree for the "more than a year and a half" which, as the Japanese Government acidly points out, was allowed "to pass by before electing to question the decision."

A situation of considerable international tensity has naturally developed. But it is relieved by the statement from the French Government that it also is prepared to accept the principle of our unsurrendered rights. It even volunteers to be our champion at the Supreme Council's forthcoming meeting.

Although Secretary Hughes's note relates to the tiny island of Yap, its application is world-wide, for he not only notifies Japan that the United States will maintain its position regarding Yap both as to fact and principle, but he also notifies the Powers of a new American Bill of Rights—a declaration that, League or no League, the United States has international rights and will maintain them.

RIGHT AND WRONG

"THERE is a type of person," said the Young-Old Philosopher, "who grows rather wearisome to me. I mean the man or woman who, ever on guard, cannot be induced to speak of a book or a play as downright poor. Such a person in any open discussion always leaves a loophole. As if it were a shame to condemn a thing that one feels in his heart should be condemned.

"Invariably you will find people like that quite as niggardly of just praise. Here too they will leave an opening for themselves; be eternally cautious. Theirs is a middle course. They always 'play safe.' Too anæmic to cast out the stupid in art, they are equally too bloodless to go into raptures over anything that has obviously caught some of the divine fire.

"Now there are many things produced in all the arts that need, and should receive, hearty condemnation. Why not give it? One can add to any criticism, to save himself from the accusation of being oracular, the statement that this is but his own personal opinion, which may not be worth while. And such a reservation, far from detracting from the force of a statement, rather backs it up more powerfully. It proves one thing, at any rate: that you do not consider yourself 'infal*li*able,' in the charming word of Barrie's Policeman. Conversely, our anæmic friends in venting their spleen on something too awful to have been produced could make an equally strong assertion to the effect that they too were but expressing a private opinion. But no; they hedge and hem and haw. They are exactly the type of people who were neutral during the World War; and, fearful of hurting any one's feelings, failed to gain the respect of any of us who had honest convictions.

"I have noticed that if one starts out to offend nobody, he ends by pleasing nobody. The indefinite article, we must all admit, has hardly the force of the definite; and if one fears to take a stand, but prefers to run with both the hares and the hounds, the straddling becomes a hopeless business and both factions desert one—even when we are not anxious to drop them.

"In other words, it is not good policy to 'play safe' continually. One must stand or fall on one's own firm beliefs; and it was no more possible to be neutral in the late war, where grave issues were at stake, than it is to be neutral as between Christ and Judas Iscariot. Or so it seems to me. In every historical episode there comes a moment when one wavers no longer if he be of the right stuff, and certain events blast all one's previous conceptions of right and wrong. There comes an instant of betrayal. Whatever Judas, or Germany, may have been in the years preceding their base acts, they were of a different mold in one astounding and revealing second. A forger may be a worthy man up to the moment when he puts another's name on a check. Through that act he becomes something else. In the twinkling of an eye his whole conception of morality changes; and our judgment of him should likewise change. If one says, 'But how do you know the difference between right and wrong?' I always answer, 'By the same intuition that tells me the difference between my own good acts and my own evil acts.' Despite the sophists, there are degrees of good and evil which we can measure and appraise; and no man, left alone with his conscience, can tell me that he does not know this. Life would be unbearable unless we could discriminate between two opposing forces. Fortunately, we can, and do. And that is why the world grows better, despite a slight setback now and again. The command is Forward, on the whole; and, though Judas had his little hour, no doubt, when he was happy with his ill-gotten thirty pieces of silver, don't forget that he went out and hanged himself afterwards. The evil do *not* triumph long. And we need hardly punish them; for they put the rope around their own necks in the end and finish the painful business without our lifting a finger."

MARY STUART[1]

NOT every play which is given a stage production deserves a studied criticism. Pleasant comedies, the average light opera, the generality of detective plays, serve their purpose if they amuse and entertain. It is therefore a compliment rather than the reverse if a critic is interested enough in a drama to want to take it apart and see why the wheels go round or why they fail to revolve with the expected speed. Emphatically deserving of such interest is John Drinkwater's "Mary Stuart," a play which deals with the relationships of that much-debated lady with Darnley, Riccio, and Bothwell.

"Mary Stuart" is a one-act play, with a prologue and a suggestion of an epilogue. It opens in a house in Edinburgh of the twentieth century. There are two characters on the stage as the curtain ascends—Andrew Boyd, a man of seventy, and a young man who has come upon a great unhappiness. The evil which the young man fears is the loss of his wife's love, for she has confessed to him that she cares for another man. In this confession he can see nothing but the destruction of all that is worth while in his life. He has no ears for the argument of his friend, who offers him in consolation a theory which is to him unthinkable. His friend points his theory with the story of Mary Stuart, and says: "Such women can sometimes love so well that no man's nature can contain all that they have to give. There are men like that, too. And it is not a light love. The light lover has many and rapidly shifting aims, but never two loyalties at once. But these others may love once, or twice, or often, but changelessly. They do not love unworthily—it is lamentable when they love unworthy men."

Neither the arguments of Boyd nor the story of Queen Mary moves young Hunter from his despair. He cries out, "What does a dead queen know about me? . . . Mary Stuart can tell me nothing, I say." And as he utters the words Mary herself appears in the window answering his cry with a quiet "Boy, I can tell you everything." The light fades. The figures vanish, and when the darkness disappears, instead of a room in the Edinburgh of the twentieth century, there is Mary Stuart in her chamber in Holyrood Castle, waking from a dream of a youth in a far generation who has shared in the sorrow which has burdened her life.

With such a mystic introduction, the spectator is prepared to find in this new portrait of Mary a picture of a woman who can love more than one man greatly; but Mr. Drinkwater, strangely

[1] Mary Stuart: A Play. By John Drinkwater. Houghton Mifflin Company.

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enough, seems to have shifted his theme from this to the story of a woman who can find no man worthy to be greatly loved. Riccio, Darnley, Bothwell—there are these three to choose from, and this is her measure of the choice: "Riccio sings, yes, ravishingly. And no more. Darnley cannot sing even, and he's my husband. Just a petulance—one cannot even be sorry for it. How he hates Riccio—I wish David were better worth hating. That would be something. And Bothwell wants to take me with a swagger. It's a good swagger, but that's the end of it. I think he will take me yet, the odds against him are pitiful enough. But it's a barren stock of lovers. . . . I, who could have made the greatest greater."

The contemptible Darnley, the suave and timorous Riccio, and the bold Bothwell are shown forth in the act which follows with a touch which makes these mordant words of the Queen seem, if anything, too kind. Darnley, who sings gross songs under the window of the Queen who is his wife; Riccio, who mars the tragedy of his death with his whining; and Bothwell, who knows himself that his love is a thing of passion without endurance or depth; none of these does the Queen love as the wife of the young man in the prologue is pictured as caring for her husband and another. The tragedy of Drinkwater's Mary is not that she is prevented from sharing her love, but that there is no one to whom she can give it all.

The play ends with the murder of Riccio outside the door of the Queen's chamber and the vow of the Queen that the reckoning for the death of this "fantastic nothing" "shall be as though for a great lover." She is left alone in her room singing to herself a song she has made:

> Though brighter wit I had than these,
> Their cunning brought me down,
> But Mary's love story shall please
> Better than their renown.

CLARE EAMES AS "MARY STUART"

> Not Riccio nor Darnley knew
> Nor Bothwell how to find
> This Mary's best magnificence
> Of the great lover's mind.

From a distance come the voices of the two figures of the prologue, the voice of the younger man crying, "What does a dead queen know about me?" and Mary answers again, "Boy, I can tell you everything."

There are power and dignity in the character of Mary Stuart as John Drinkwater paints her. There are moments in the play when, aided by the art of Clare Eames, this personification of the Scottish queen is touched with the vitality of a Shakespearean character. The language of the play is thoroughly worthy of the situation which it shadows forth. Yet the production as a whole fails to satisfy as "Abraham Lincoln" satisfied. The elimination of the prologue and the epilogue and the completion of the fragmentary tragedy of Mary's life by a portrayal of the death of Darnley, her relations with Bothwell, and her mighty conflict with the great Queen who gave her name to an age of English history may not be a task which Mr. Drinkwater would care to undertake, but is a task which we would be grateful to him for attempting.

THE COLOMBIAN TREATY

A POLL OF THE PRESS

DEMOCRATIC, reactionary Republican, and pacifist papers welcome the passage of the Colombian Treaty.

Democratic opinion is voiced by the New York "World" and the Brooklyn "Daily Eagle." The first declares that it is "conceded in principle that the United States owed the South American Republic substantial compensation for the taking of Panama in defiance of solemn treaty obligations" and as "a primary condition provided the payment of $25,000,000 to Colombia." The "Eagle" asserts that "the Senate's ratification of the Colombian Treaty is an act of justice tardily performed. . . . With inexcusable delay, but yet with finality, . . . we have repaired a wrong, so far as the payment of money can repair it. . . . We congratulate President Harding upon his courage in reviving Mr. Wilson's policy."

The Buffalo, New York, "Commercial" gives the view-point of the Republican leaders who put the treaty through the Senate:

> The country will experience a general feeling of relief over the ratification of the treaty with the Republic of Colombia for a $25,000,000 indemnity growing out of the partition of Panama. . . . The amount, so far as the ability of the United States to pay is concerned, is insignificant. The misunderstandings that it clears up were of a character likely to imperil the whole Central and South American policy of the Harding Administration. . . .
>
> It was all right to say that approval of this pact would be an insult to the memory of President Roosevelt so long as there was the clause in it expressing "regret" to Colombia for the loss of Panama. But that clause in the treaty was elimi-

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nated, and only by implication could it be argued that we made any tender of regret for the secession of the Panamans.

Then there was another underlying reason of a decidedly practical character for approving this treaty—one which was perhaps not so much in evidence when the treaty was put before the Senate by President Wilson in 1914, but which now has become one of the first importance—and that is the assistance it will give the United States in the world-wide hunt for oil. There are vast oil fields in Colombia, which should be developed by us. But with this treaty rejected concessions of the kind desired would never be given to American capital, and it would be humiliating indeed to see them given to Great Britain.

Against these very practical reasons urged by the proponents of the treaty the opposition naturally weakened. Whereas a few years ago many of the strongest friends of the late President Roosevelt—men like Lodge, Fall, and McCumber—were against ratification, to-day they appeared as its strongest champions, in and out of the Senate.

The New York "Evening Post" rejoices as follows: "Gratification over the vote in the Senate upon the treaty with Colombia is enhanced by two circumstances: the promptness with which the Senate acted upon President Harding's recommendation and the size of the majority. . . . It is the first important act of the new Administration, if by Administration we mean to include the Capitol as well as the White House. It was the subject of the first special Message by President Harding, who thus put his prestige to the test upon the question of whether we should or should not take the step which alone could restore us to the confidence of Central and South America."

An independent Democratic paper, the New York "Times," thus pays its respects to the victors:

> Voting to ratify the Colombian treaty yesterday meant a severe intellectual and moral strain for many Republican Senators. They had to approve what they had vehemently and virtuously condemned four years ago. And they had to find arguments for their change of front. This was in some ways harder than the change itself. . . .
>
> It certainly would seem that Mr. Lodge had in 1917 occupied ground from which he could not withdraw his troops without exposing them to destruction. He had delivered himself against the Colombian treaty with great moral earnestness. "Any friendship," he said, "which is bought is worthless." This is especially the case when it is "under threats which, when successful, breed contempt in the mind of the seller and a sense of bitter dislike and humiliation in that of the buyer." And the Massachusetts Senator made short work of the plea that the payment of $25,000,000 to Colombia would be anything but a "plea of guilty." "No other construction can or will be placed by the world on our action." "We cannot afford to answer a blackmail demand." But a masterly leader to the rear like Mr. Lodge had little difficulty in getting away from all this. He invited the Senate and the country to look at "the larger aspects of the question." All of these could not be seen four years ago. There were considerations of "international amity" to be dwelt upon to-day; there was the matter of trade, to which we could not be blind, and had Senators duly weighed the vital necessity of oil and were they aware that Colombia contained vast and unexploited deposits to which Americans held claims and concessions only waiting on the ratification of the treaty? Moreover, Colombia was "the only South American state which has both an Atlantic and a Pacific coast, and on those coasts are good harbors capable of large development."

Naturally, other Democratic papers also throughout the country cannot resist paying their sarcastic respects to the Republican turn-coat Senators, while opposing their action. Nor can Republican papers whose editors dare think for themselves refrain. For instance, the New York "Tribune" referred to those "who would screen the transaction, saying that it is an act of largess to quiet the Colombians though they have no just claim." Another New York paper speaks as follows:

> It is a source of immeasurable astonishment to the New York "Herald" that there should be, by Republican initiative both in the White House and in the Senate, a revival of this proposal to duplicate to Colombia the legitimate indemnity which Colombia asked for nearly twenty years ago and then rejected, and which consequently and properly went to Panama, its rightful recipient; and not only to duplicate that huge grant already once paid but to increase it one hundred and fifty per cent. . . . This newspaper cannot comprehend the position of Senator Lodge, for example, who now advocates the payment to Colombia invited by President Harding: the same payment which, when proposed by President Wilson, was denounced as blackmail. . . . If the measure was blackmail then, it is blackmail now. . . . Such, unquestionably, is not the statesmanship of justice. It is the statesmanship of expediency. At the expense of Roosevelt's fame for honest dealing, the New York "Herald" is by no means prepared to believe that the implied confession and attempted purchase of friendship will have the effect upon Latin-American sentiment which the promoters of the experiment profess to expect.

Doubtless with reference to the report that not half a dozen Republican Senators really favored the treaty, the "Herald" adds: "In putting through the Colombian treaty the Republican Senate committed itself to a grand piece of mystery legislation. In this mystery business it looks as if we already had, in the new Administration, a touch of Wilsonian autocracy. But this isn't really the case. Instead it is only the steam-rolled execution of a close corporation machine."

The word "oil" apparently explains the mystery, as indeed the Buffalo "Commercial" indicated. The Chicago "Tribune" (Rep.) is more specific:

> Secretary Fall says that the oil in Colombia is reason for bribing that Latin Government to be good-natured and obliging. The United States, he says, is getting the worst of it because it does not back its oil searchers and producers as the British back their own and that, in consequence, we shall be run out of many wonderful oil fields.
>
> We want oil. We want to develop every possible opportunity and every possible field. We particularly do not want to overlook or neglect fields and opportunities in our own sphere. The oil of the future may contain the supremacy of the future.
>
> What we do not see is the relevancy of the $25,000,000 payment to Colombia to the oil resources of Colombia. We can see its relevancy to the Panama Canal and we can see how it implies our apology for digging the Canal.
>
> The "Tribune" refuses to follow any Administration in making such an apology by implication. We do not believe in giving any money to any Colombian government at any time as payment for the building of the Canal. There would be more sense, as Senator Johnson remarks, in giving it to our own unemployed, to our veterans, to disabled soldiers, to Americans who have done something for the American Government.
>
> If the $25,000,000 will get something for the United States, let a treaty be formulated which will set forth the considerations in the bond.

"If the money is actually intended as an inducement to Colombia to grant oil concessions to Americans and not to confiscate their property," declares the Portland "Oregonian" (Rep.), "that should be stated in black and white, but it should be done by a separate treaty, in order that oil and the Canal may be kept apart."

As to the Panama Canal, if we wronged Colombia, we ought, in the "Oregonian's" opinion, "to restore what we took, not pay hush money." Furthermore, "If we did right, we ought to pay nothing, for such payment would set a precedent for an endless series of like demands. Omission of the apology does not relieve the payment of the taint of blackmail. The United States grants valuable concessions on the Canal and agrees to pay $25,000,000 to boot without specifying for what it is paid. The plain inference is that it has something to do with the Canal and Panama, for nothing else is mentioned in the amended treaty."

"The 'Bee' has opposed this treaty from the start," the principal paper in Omaha records. "If any wrong was done to Colombia," it says, "it should have been adjusted long ago; if we owe that country anything, we ought to pay it. . . . Whatever the outcome, the relations of our Government with all others should rest on a foundation of fair and honorable dealings, not on the uncertainty of bargains such as seems to be suggested by Secretary Fall. Pinckney's

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patriotic dictum, 'Millions for defense, not a cent for tribute,' ought to be remembered now."

The conclusion of the whole matter, as viewed by many people, is thus stated by the Kansas City "Star" (Rep.):

> In its first important move the Harding Administration has made an exceedingly bad impression on the country. The Colombian treaty is simply a sale of National honor for commercial privileges. The Administration goes before the country as ready to help the big oil interests at the expense of the Nation's treasure and the Nation's good name.
>
> There has been no change in the merits of the Colombian situation since the Senate refused to ratify the proposed blackmail treaty. The striking out of the apology to Colombia is simply a subterfuge. The payment of the $25,000,000 is the essential apology, the essential admission of wrongdoing.
>
> The contention is openly made that the United States must pay Colombia $25,000,000 blackmail in order to give American investors the chance to develop Colombian oil concessions. What sort of a policy is that for a self-respecting nation to pursue? What sort of ideals are embodied in it before the young men of America, before the world?

CANADIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THERE is nothing so dead as a dead slogan. Take, for instance, the slogan which did such yeoman service in Canada in 1911—"No truck or trade with the Yankees." He would be a rash individual indeed who would seek to rehabilitate that battle-cry in Canada to-day—not that there are not some politicians, and others, who would make the attempt quickly enough if they thought there was a chance that the public could be hoodwinked by it again; in fact, these persons hailed with delight the recent agitation in the United States which resulted in the Fordney Bill, but there was not much response throughout the country.

On the other hand, the two political parties which are likely to return the largest groups to the next Parliament—the Liberals and the National Progressives (Agrarian)—each have as a plank in their political platform, "Reciprocity with the United States."

It was a Government preponderantly Conservative, and headed by Sir Robert Borden—who attained power in 1911 by means of the cry of "No truck or trade with the Yankees"—which last year provided for the establishment at Washington of a Canadian Minister Plenipotentiary. The appointment has not actually been made up to the time of writing, but a Minister of the Government in March of this year, in answer to a question in the House of Commons, stated that the appointment would be made when a suitable man had been found for the post.

In the year 1920 Canada spent in the United States approximately $925,000,000. In the same year the United States spent $600,000,000 in Canada. Canada is Uncle Sam's second-best customer. The United States is Canada's best customer.

In connection with Canada's trade with the United States, the view expressed by the Hon. T. A. Crerar, leader of the National Progressive party, in the House of Commons on February 24 of this year is of interest as showing the trend of opinion in the Dominion. Mr. Crerar said, in part:

> There is, however, one other criticism that I have to make, in the most friendly way, of the Minister of Trade and Commerce [Sir George Foster], and that is that the Department of Trade and Commerce is not at the present time discharging its duty in respect to the development of trade with our great neighbor to the south. What are the conditions? The United States Government has to-day in Canada over one hundred consuls, the great majority of these being in reality trade agents. You find them scattered over this country from the Pacific to the Atlantic. What are they doing? They are, in their way, quite properly, placing with prospective Canadian customers the advantages of trading with and buying from firms in the United States. We have agents abroad; but where do we find them? We have a trade agent in the Argentine Republic; we have one in Australia; we have one in Brazil; we have trade representatives in China; we have them in New Zealand, in Italy, in France, in Holland, and in South Africa; but we have not one in the United States. I would suggest, I hope in a spirit of constructiveness, the need, the advisability, of the Department over which my right honorable friend presides getting busy in this direction. We have our greatest customers to the south. More than one-half of the trade of Canada is done with the United States, and in that direction lies the best opportunity we have in the near years approaching for the development and extension of our trade.

Mr. Crerar is the President of the great United Grain Growers, Limited, the largest co-operative farmers' organization in the world. He was Minister of Agriculture in the Union Government during the war, but resigned in 1919 because he did not agree with the fiscal policy of the Government. He is the asknowledged leader of the organized farmers of Canada, comprising practically every province in the Dominion. It is conceded in political circles on all sides that the party which he leads will hold the balance of power after the next election. In view of all these facts, his opinion carries with it much weight.

While Canada does not maintain a single trade representative in the United States, a publicity bureau has been maintained in New York under the recent direction of Colonel J. A. Cooper. Speaking at a Canadian Club banquet in New York on March 7, Colonel Cooper stated that he had recommended to the Canadian Government the appointment in the United States of an equal number of trade representatives to that maintained by the latter country in Canada. His experience of fifteen months in the United States had shown him the advisability of such a course.

At first glance, it would appear strange that Canada should apparently neglect such a rich field in favor of Rumania and Greece, where the money has had to be advanced by the Canadian Government before orders were forthcoming—or at least before the goods could be paid for. The explanation is simple: Sir George Foster, who heads the Department of Trade and Commerce, is one of the few men in Canada who have remained true to the old slogan of 1911.

Circumstances, however, have played havoc with the plans of 1911. A great cataclysm has shaken the world. It had its origin in the age-long rivalries and imperialisms of Europe. Canada, as an outpost of a European country, was quickly engulfed — some people, when they consider the national debt of over two and a quarter billions of dollars, are inclined to think the word "submerged" is more suitable. The conviction is slowly crystallizing in the minds of vast numbers of Canadians that the destiny of this country lies in the Western Hemisphere; that Canada's most natural allies are on this continent; and that a community of interest is the best safeguard for the future. This last exists beyond question between Canada and the United States.

There is, however, no sentiment in Canada for annexation—there never has been any of much extent. The Canadian people believe that there is room on this North American continent for two great nations; but they also believe that close co-operation is not inconsistent with national independence.

Of course there are many Imperialists in Canada who view with alarm any move towards closer business, or other, relations with any country other than Great Britain. There will likely always be a very strong sentimental tie between Canada and Great Britain; but propinquity and mutual interests are probably the stronger bonds. Canada now claims to be an independent nation—still, of course, under the British King—but free to choose her own path and her own goal.

Failing some unforeseen calamity, the slogan of 1911 is about as inanimate in Canada as a last year's bird's-nest.

D. M. LE BOURDAIS.

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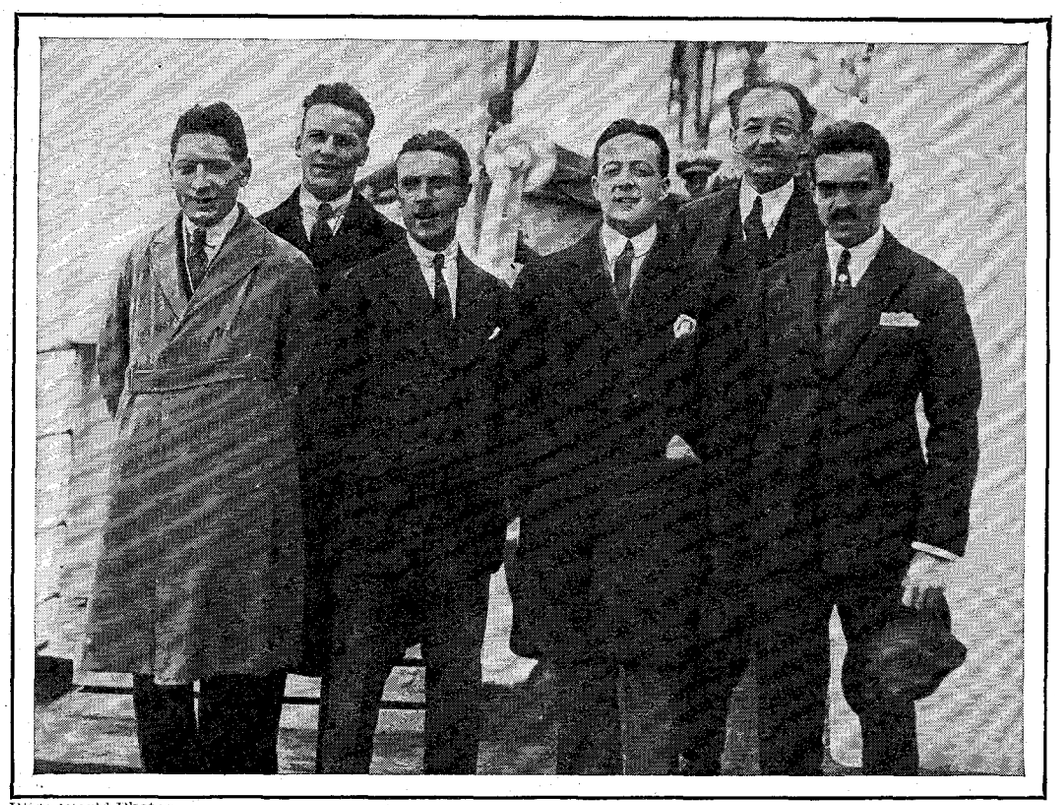
ATHLETES—PRESENT AND FUTURE

(C) Underwood

PRESIDENT HARDING HELPS THE BOYS TO RAISE FUNDS FOR A SWIMMING POOL

President Harding exhibited his genius as a "good mixer" when he met a number of boys who called on him at the White House to secure his help in raising funds for a swimming pool fund. Memories of the "old swimmin' hole" of his boyhood days at Caledonia, Ohio, helped on the sale of the tickets which the lad at the President's right brought with him when he called to enlist the aid of the Nation's head



Wide World Photos

A GROUP OF FRENCH ATHLETES ARRIVING IN AMERICA TO COMPETE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA GAMES

These young men will take part in the International Relay Race. Their names are: Front row, left to right: M. Delvart, R. Goullioux, J. Seurin, R. Biget. Back row, left to right: G. Fery, and R. de Leliva, the coach

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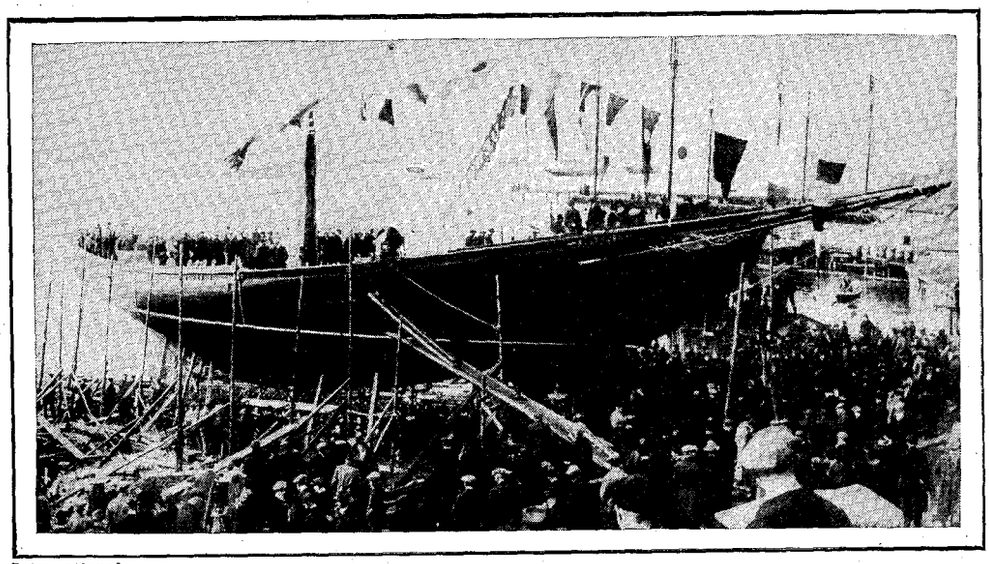
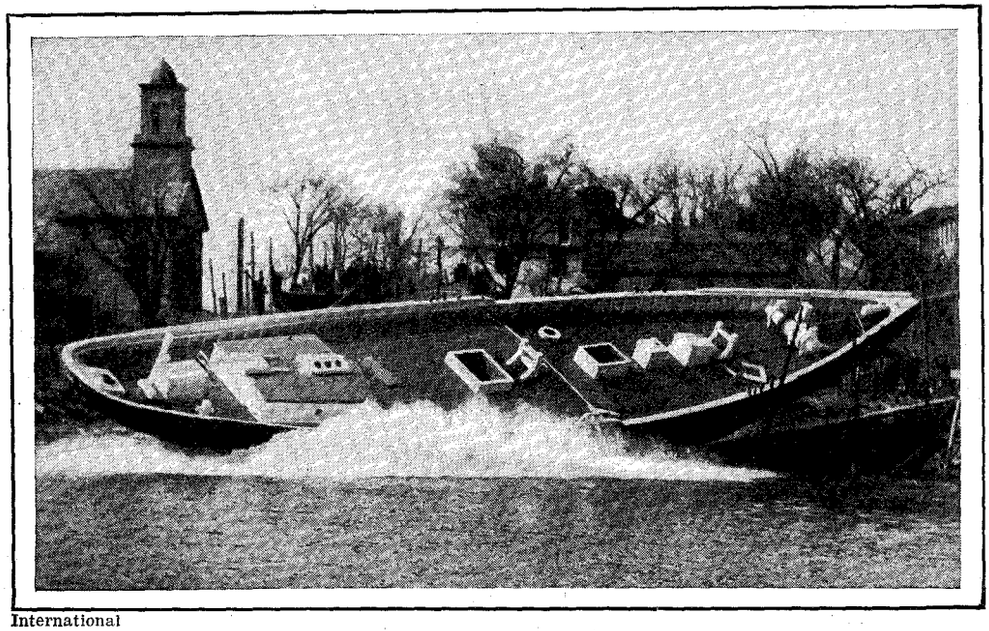
A SIGHT FOR OLD SALTS



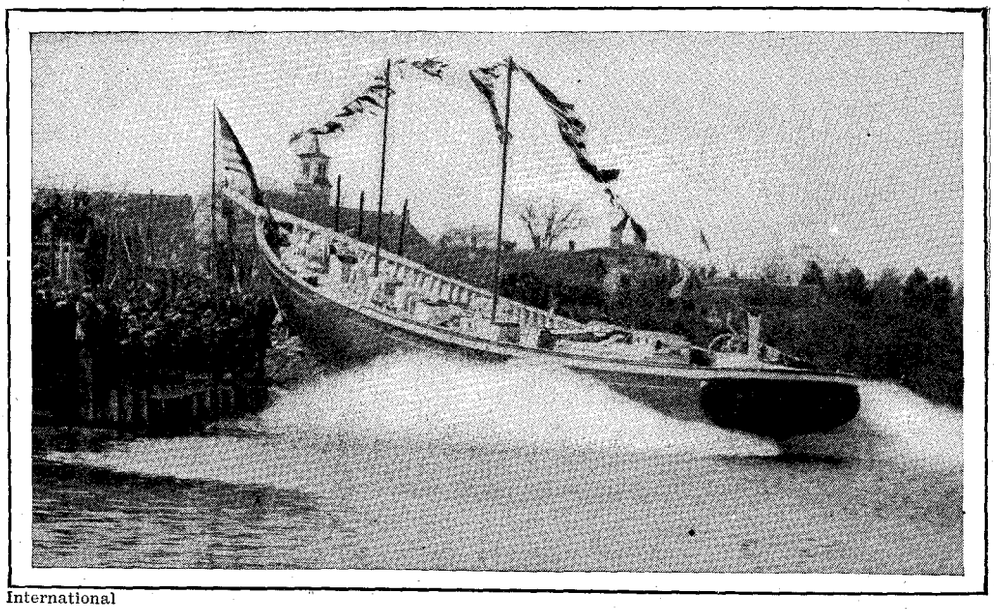
International

THE LAUNCHING OF THE BLUENOSE, CANADA'S CHALLENGER



International

THE LAUNCHING OF THE L. A. DUNTON AT ESSEX, MASSACHUSETTS



International

THE LAUNCHING OF THE MAYFLOWER AT ESSEX, MASSACHUSETTS

Here are three possible contenders for the trophy won by the Gloucester schooner Esperanto last year. This is an international trophy, open only to fishing-vessels which have spent at least one season actively fishing on the Banks. There will be no postponing these races, even if there happens to be more than a capful of wind

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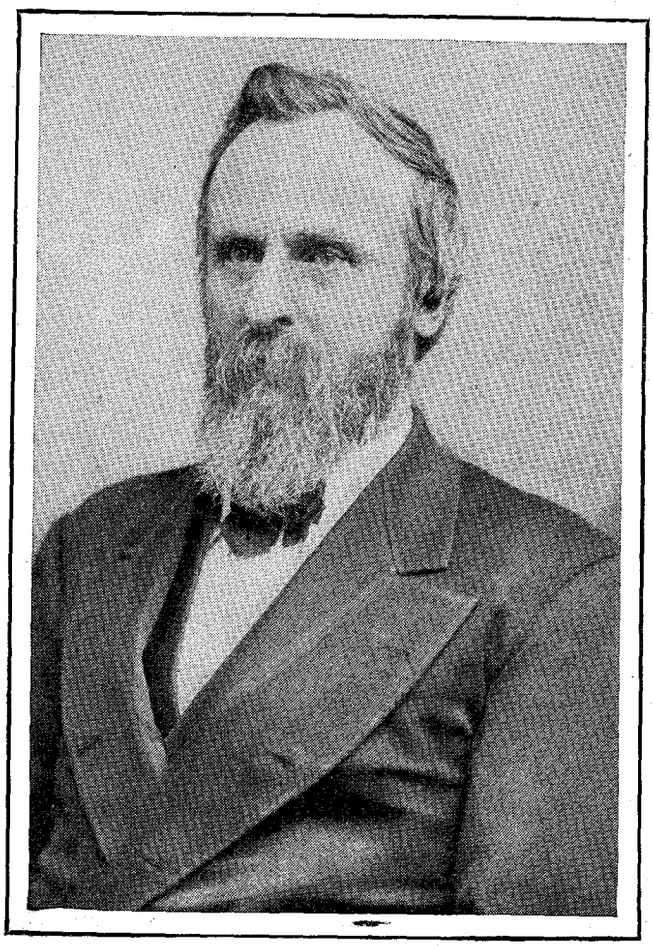
SNAP-SHOTS OF MY CONTEMPORARIES

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES—PEACEMAKER



RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES
President of the United States, 1877–1881

THE spirit in which General Lee and General Grant met at Appomattox Court House when, after four years of skillful and courageous fighting, the Southern leader surrendered to his chivalric antagonist augured well for the early establishment of friendly relations between the South and the North. These leaders truly represented their respective sections.

But the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, which so quickly followed that surrender, wrought an almost instant revolution; it inspired bitterness in the North and despair in the South. President Johnson combined hatred of the ex-slaveholder with contempt for the ex-slave. For four years a new political battle raged between the South and the North after the four years of military battle had ended. There were statesmen who welcomed Grant's "Let us have peace," and saw clearly how it could be attained. If the ex-slaveholder and the ex-slave were to live prosperously together in the same community, mutual respect and mutual friendship must be cultivated between them. Years of education would be needed to prepare the uneducated Negro for full citizenship. The burden of that education must not be thrown upon the South alone. Federal aid must be given to Southern education. But there were radicals of a different opinion. They held that suffrage is a natural right and that democracy means government by the majority. Their policy was: "Give the Negro the ballot and he will take care of himself. His late masters will be his enemies. If he cannot protect himself against them, the Federal Government must protect him."

The incompetence and corruption which this policy inflicted on the South surpasses belief. James Ford Rhodes in his history of this period tells us that at first Southern men attempted to co-operate with the Republican party in rebuilding a new civilization on the ruins of that which slavery and war had destroyed. But they soon gave up the endeavor in despair. Nine-tenths of the Republican party in the South were Negroes; one-tenth was white; and the one-tenth were rarely wise and not always honest. The inevitable effect of this policy on the Republican party Henry Ward Beecher foretold in a graphic figure. "The radicals," he said to me once, "are trying to drive the wedge into the log butt end foremost, and they'll only split their beetle." This they did. By the second term of Grant's Administration the Republican party existed in two bitterly hostile factions.

Meanwhile the corruption which the radicals had unwittingly fastened on the South returned to plague the North. A successful war is almost inevitably followed by corruption. Germany suffered more from her victory in the Franco-Prussian War than France suffered from her defeat. The most corrupt period in our National history was that which followed the Civil War. It was the period of the carpetbag government in the Southern States, of the Tweed Ring in New York State, of the Crédit Mobilier in the Federal Government. The most corrupt election in our history was that which followed the second term of General Grant. Charges of intimidation, of fraudulent registration, of flagrant bribery, were preferred by each party against the other and were substantiated by indubitable evidence. When the election was over, it was very doubtful who had been elected. Threats of civil war were freely made by partisans; fears of civil war were seriously entertained by men behind the scenes. It was solemnly affirmed that 145,000 well-disciplined troops were ready to fight to seat the Democratic candidate. An army of men not disciplined and not organized, who had been thrown out of employment by one of the worst panics which ever struck the American market, were believed to be ready for a campaign of plunder. Three circumstances conspired to ward off the danger: the assurance that General Grant would use all the resources of the Nation to preserve order; the dread of civil war by a generation just emerging from one; and the poise of both the Presidential candidates who showed equal anxiety to secure a peaceable decision of the issue.

In the election Mr. Hayes had taken no such active part as has now become the fashion of Presidential candidates. In the post-election controversy his influence is indicated by a letter he wrote to Senator Sherman at New Orleans: "We are not to allow our friends to defeat one outrage and fraud by another. There must be nothing crooked on our part. Let Mr. Tilden have the place by violence, intimidation, and fraud, rather than undertake to prevent it by means that will not bear the severest scrutiny." Finally, by an almost unanimous consent a tribunal was created to determine the issue; and when this tribunal, by a majority of one, declared Mr. Hayes duly elected the decision was accepted by the Congress and by the country—sullenly, but still accepted. To this day history is doubtful whether this decision was right or wrong.

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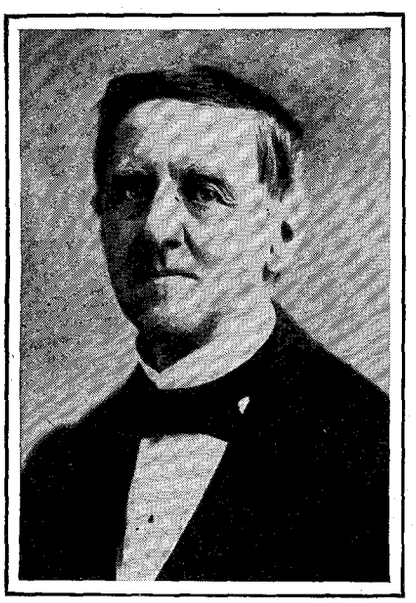
When Mr. Hayes was inaugurated President in March, 1877, the conditions which confronted him were these.

He held his office with a clouded title. More than half of the white citizens of the United States believed that he had not been Constitutionally elected; less than half the voters had voted for him. He was called to administer the government over a Nation divided not more by the Civil War than by the undemocratic reconstruction policy, the effect of which had been to incite jealousy and suspicion between the sections and hostility between the races. Corruption in local, State, and National governments had brought government into contempt, given to the term politician an odious meaning, destroyed some reputations and besmirched others. During the first two years of his term the Democrats had a majority in the House, during the last two years a majority in both House and Senate. And he had the hesitating and reluctant support of a divided party and the bitter hostility of some of its most influential and prominent leaders. During his stormy Administration he never lost his temper, never answered abuse with abuse, never sacrificed principle to policy, never fought fire with fire, retained the respect of his friends in defeat, and compelled the respect of his enemies in victory.

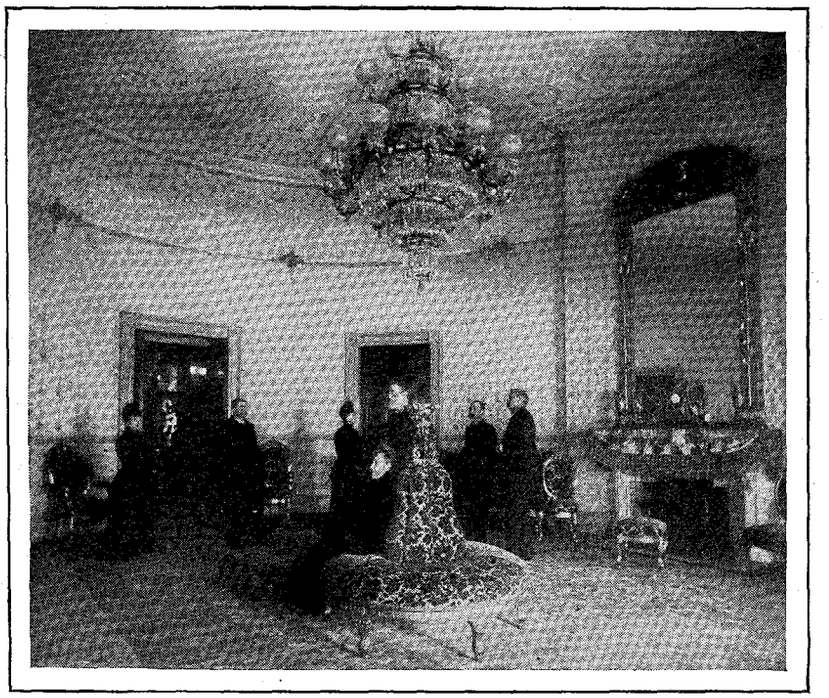
At the very beginning of his Administration he foreshadowed his break with the "Old Guard" of his day by the personnel of his Cabinet, selected upon the following simple principles, stated in his diary:

1. A new Cabinet.
2. No Presidential candidate.
3. No appointment to "take care" of anybody.

Seven weeks later he emphasized the break by abandoning military rule in the South. In both Louisiana and South Carolina were two State governments—one Republican, the other Democratic. He withdrew the Federal troops from both States, and in both States the Republican governments collapsed. The wrath of the militant Republicans was unbounded. To them this was a surrender to "unrepentant rebels." His reply to the fierce invectives in the Senate was confided to his diary, which was dumb. "My policy," he wrote, "is trust, peace, and to put aside the bayonet. I do not think that the wise policy is to decide contested elections in the State by the use of the National army."



SAMUEL JONES TILDEN
Public servant and philanthropist, Mr. Hayes's opponent in the Presidential election of 1876, "Both Presidential candidates showed equal anxiety to secure a peaceable decision of the issue"

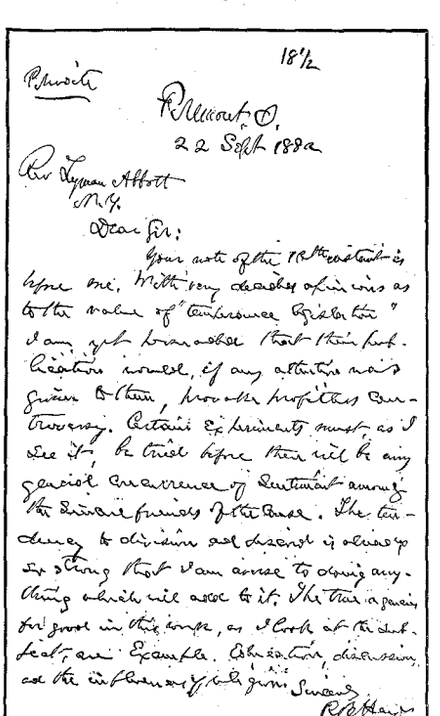


VISITORS IN THE WHITE HOUSE—THE BLUE ROOM
About the time of the Hayes Administration

In his inaugural he declared that a thorough, radical, and complete reform in our civil service was a paramount necessity. He emphasized this conviction by removing two of Senator Conkling's wards from the Custom House in New York. The Senate rejected his nomination of their successors, and Conkling's wards held over. "I am right," said Mr. Hayes to his diary, "and shall not give up the fight." He did not. A year later his nominations were renewed and confirmed. His withdrawal of troops from the South had made Blaine his enemy; his removal of Conkling's appointees made Conkling his enemy. Mr. Conkling had no use for what he called "snivel service reform." The President confided to his silent diary the political principle which compelled his course. "I stand," he wrote, "for the equal and Constitutional independence of the Executive. The independence of the different departments of the Government is essential to the progress and existence of good government."

A plan to increase the money of the country and lower the standard by remonetizing silver he vetoed. Democrats and Republicans, responding to a popular demand reinforced undoubtedly by silver-mine owners and silver-producing States, were able to overrule the President's veto. In the tangle of that hour, when financiers were themselves perplexed, Mr. Hayes gave to his diary in a sentence the conclusion to which years after the whole country came: "I cannot consent to a measure which stains our credit."

The Democratic party attached a rider to the Appropriation Bill which would have made it impossible for the President to fulfill the duty laid upon him by the Constitution and preserve order in the States if necessity should arise. The President called an extra session, laid the facts before Congress and the coun-



FACSIMILE OF RUTHERFORD B. HAYES'S LETTER TO LYMAN ABBOTT

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try in a Message so short that busy men could read it, so simple that men unskilled in politics could understand it, and so free from combativeness that partisans could not complain of it, and then waited for Congress to hear from the country and retire from its impossible position, as, after a long controversy with the patient President, it did.

Men will face a lion who will flee from a swarm of bees. So men will face a political cabal who will hesitate to challenge social conventions by disregarding a long-established social custom. Mr. and Mrs. Hayes had never served wine on their home table. They resolved to carry their habit of abstinence into their new home in the White House. Their action aroused a thunderstorm of criticism—lightning that did not strike and thunder that did not terrify. The criticism took on every variety from the good-natured *bon mot* of Mr. Evarts, 'At the President's reception water flowed like champagne,' to the irritating accusation of a disappointed office-seeker that what made the President a total abstainer was his parsimony. The only serious argument advanced against his course was that as host of the Nation he should in his hospitality represent the sentiment of the Nation. It proved a boomerang. For presently the White House was deluged with letters, telegrams, resolutions, thank-offerings of flowers, from every section of the country. Only a very small number of Americans served wine on their tables; the President was conforming the hospitality of the White House to the habits of the American people. His action was the more significant because he had not been a strict total abstainer before his election, and he never was a prohibitionist. As his biographer has given to the world his statement of his views of this subject as they were communicated to his father confessor, the diary, I violate no confidence by giving to my readers his definition of them in the following letter to me:

Private Fremont, O.
22 Sept. 1880.

Rev. Lyman Abbott
N. Y.

Dear Sir: Your note of the 16th instant is before me. With very decided opinions as to the value of "temperance legislation" I am yet persuaded that their publication would, if any attention was given to them, provoke profitless controversy. Certain experiments must, as I see it, be tried before there will be any general concurrence of sentiment among the sincere friends of the cause. The tendency to division and discord is already so strong that I am averse to doing anything which will add to it. The true agencies for good in this work, as I look at the subject, are example, education, discussion and the influences of religion.

Sincerely R. B. HAYES

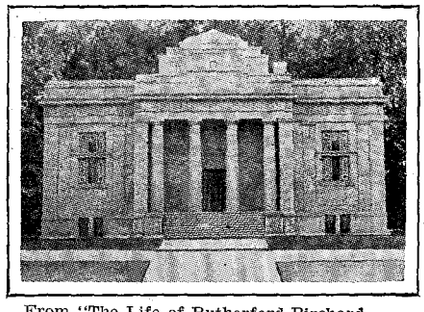
I met President Hayes personally twice. Once during his Presidency, in company with Governor and Mrs. Claflin and Mr. and Mrs. Lawson Valentine, I spent an evening at the White House

From "The Life of Rutherford Birchard Hayes," by C. R. Williams. (Courtesy Houghton Mifflin Company.)

PRESIDENT AND MRS. HAYES AND WILLIAM HENRY SMITH ON THE PIAZZA AT SPIEGEL GROVE, 1889

as quietly as if we had been in a rural home ten miles from a railway station. The President's "shop" was by common consent excluded. Politics were not discussed. One incident I recall: the President took me upstairs to show me his children asleep in the nursery. I had two boys of about their age at home; and for a few moments I forgot the Presidential office in sharing the experience of the father.

The other incident was later. After his retirement from the Presidency he was elected President of the Prison Reform Association. At its annual meeting in Saratoga—I forget the year—I was preacher and took as my text, "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink," and as my theme the doctrine that the only justice which the state can rightly administer is a *merciful* justice and the only punishment it can rightly inflict is a reformatory punishment. After the service the President, with a cordiality that was more than official, requested the sermon for publication, and it was printed from the stenographer's notes. He gave expression—I think subsequently to the Saratoga meeting, but I am not sure—



From "The Life of Rutherford Birchard Hayes," by C. R. Williams. (Courtesy Houghton Mifflin Company.)

HAYES MEMORIAL BUILDING
Erected at Spiegel Grove, Fremont, Ohio, in 1912–14

to the same principle in a characteristically well-balanced statement:

> The chief aim in the treatment of convicts is to protect society against its avowed enemy, the criminal. The advocates of improved prisons and prison discipline add to this a more specific statement. They would reform all criminals whom they can reform, by wise systems wisely administered. Those who cannot be reclaimed should remain under sentence of conviction where they can support themselves by labor and do no harm to society.

The principles laid down by Mr. Thomas Mott Osborne in "Behind Prison Bars," and illustrated by his own prison administration, are all implied in this statement of President Hayes, made some forty years ago.

President Hayes did not heal the wounds inflicted by war and by a misconceived policy of reconstruction, but he set the broken bones, and time is knitting together again the North and the South; he did not solve the race problem, but he did much to create that era of good feeling which has enabled the best men in both races to understand each other and to co-operate in movements for their mutual welfare; he did not accomplish the purification of government, but he did give a new impulse to that movement for political purity carried forward subsequently by his successors in office, pre-eminently by Grover Cleveland and Theodore Roosevelt, until "A public office is a public trust" has come to be recognized, at least in theory, as a sound political principle; he did not succeed in wholly preventing the endeavor to give us all plenty of money by making it cheap, but he halted that proceeding and gave the sober second thought of the American people time to develop and assert itself; he did not fall into the error of thinking that a people will be made temperate if they are prohibited from drinking, but his example did more than perhaps we know toward cultivating in the Nation a habit of total abstinence from intoxicating liquors which laid the foundation for National prohibition.

During Mr. Hayes's Presidency I, an editor, was studying and interpreting current history. My admiration for Mr. Hayes steadily grew while he was making history. I admired his masterful conscience, his gentle strength, his noncombative courage, his unconquerable patience. I admired him for the men he brought about him as his counselors and for the success he achieved against much odds. And when I planned this series of "Snap-Shots of my Contemporaries" I eagerly embraced the opportunity it gave me to sketch the portrait of a statesman whose character and difficulties the country too little realized then and whose service the country has too little appreciated since. Both are indicated by the title I have ventured to give to him: Rutherford B. Hayes—Peacemaker.

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OUT OF THE TOGA AND INTO OVERALLS

BY FREDERICK M. DAVENPORT

PROFESSOR IN LAW AND POLITICS, HAMILTON COLLEGE; REPUBLICAN MEMBER OF THE NEW YORK STATE SENATE; AND FORMERLY FACTORY NO. 4626

THE MIND BEHIND THE HANDS

A LOOK INSIDE—OPEN SESAME—THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE FOREMAN—THE COCKINESS OF THE FOREIGN-BORN—"MAKING" WORK—WHO OWNS THE JOBS?—GETTING ALONG WITHOUT BEER—WORRY AND MONOTONY—THE ELEMENT OF REST IN PRODUCTION

ONE year ago I would not have known a lathe or a grinder if I had seen it rolling down Fifth Avenue. For a number of years I have had a teaching job in political science in a college, and my fighting laboratory has been practical politics and occasionally the New York Legislature. I have studied industrial problems from the outside, and taught them at Hamilton and debated them at Albany, and voted for or against industrial measures on roll-call. But the world of men in industry seemed far away.

I have had opportunity in the Senate at Albany to observe how industrial questions are treated. Manufacturing capital has a lobby and labor has a lobby. And they face each other in biased strife. Only a year ago the lobbyists of manufacturing capital got their fingers pinched by the State League of Women Voters. This new and eager organization investigated and explained to the people of the State just how the legislative agents of manufacturing capital were employing pseudo-patriotism and untruthful propaganda on their side of industrial measures. Nobody accused the manufacturers as a body of knowing what was going on. But the ruling inner group gave the lobby a free hand. When the fingers of the lobby were pinched, the State listened with glee to the howls of pain. Such a process of solving vital industrial problems in a time like the present did not appeal to me as dignified or wise, any more than the methods which labor too frequently employs appeal to me as conducive to the happiness and prosperity of the Republic.

The question of industrial relations seemed to me of such critical importance that least of all public issues could it safely be manhandled and horn-swoggled after the fashion often employed. Certainly the two chief public issues in America are our international relations and our industrial relations. There are many, and I count myself among their number, who think of the second issue as more important than the first, because if we cannot get along together inside the country, if we cannot establish a reasonable political and industrial fraternalism and unity at home, of what use are we in the distraught councils of internationalism?

Last summer I got a letter from a manufacturer in central New York who employs between five and six thousand workers in automobile production. I had never met him. He had evidently been keeping his eye on my interest in industrial questions in the New York State Senate. He wrote:

> I have been thinking that I would like to have you join our organization for the summer. I do not know what you could do for us. I do not know what we could do for you. But I have the impression that we might be mutually helpful.

What I think he had in mind was this: Here is a fellow who wants to do the right thing and is in a position to help, but he probably doesn't know any more about the inside of the industries than a cow knows about climbing a telegraph pole. And our lobbyists at Albany are not getting anywhere except into hot water and into disrepute, which we soon will share. Why not give this college professor and legislator a look at the inside? Perhaps we can educate him and maybe he can educate us.

The view-point of this open-minded employer pleased me, and on the first of July I turned up at the plant and became No. 4626 in his organization. I was accorded a most courteous and complete freedom in every direction. I read the confidential reports to the president, I looked into the accounting and finance, I watched every operation in the factory; I interviewed every leader in the organization, big or little, whom I could get hold of, provided he had come up from the ranks; I put on overalls and learned to use a Rockford engine lathe and turned steel and brass down to a thousandth of an inch; I came to appreciate the qualities of accuracy and patience and nerve which every good skilled mechanic must have; I experienced the humiliation that comes over a man who for the first time tries to sharpen his own tool; I rode with the testers as they listened for defects in the motor or the axles and wrote on the yellow sheet the record of faults so slight that they missed my ear entirely.

What interested me most was the great human side of the industry, the life of the five or six thousand workers as they followed all day a single operation at the machine or in the assembly of parts. I wanted to know about their value to industrial society and to citizenship, what they were thinking, how they viewed the world unrest, what new ideas they contributed to economic progress, how they regarded so-called industrial democracy, whether they liked to have benevolent schemes imposed on them from above or whether they liked to be let alone to manage their own welfare out of a full pay envelope.

THE NAME ROOSEVELT A TALISMAN

I suppose you say that a *dilettante* industrian of a month's or two months' standing could not find out much. But I got a running start when the word went around that I was one of the fellows who had been in the fighting with old T. R. The greatest crime that political machine leaders ever perpetrated in America from the standpoint of conservative leadership of the workers was the crime that drove Theodore Roosevelt for a critical decade out of reach of an inside influence upon the affairs of his country. The name of Roosevelt is like a talisman in any great body of the plain people in America, and will be for many a long year. What these workers instinctively sensed in Roosevelt was his absolute integrity. And this of course was precisely the quality which his financial and political foes were always unsuccessfully seeking to impugn—another evidence that the plain people were right and that Roosevelt's foes knew it. The average thoughtful, patriotic workingman in America feels closer to Roosevelt and Lincoln than to any other leaders of democracy.

Then, again, I happen to be a member of the Masonic fraternity, among others. And I found that there were about seven hundred Masons in the plant, a goodly number of them in places of leadership and trust. There were five past masters. I found a good deal of small religious prejudice and jealousy between Protestant and Catholic, and it was a relief to come upon one young man whose father was a thirty-second degree Mason and he himself was a Knight of Columbus, following along the mother line. Being a Mason got me swift introduction and hearing all over the plant.

My work at the lathe did no harm. A good many came to talk with me there, naturally and freely; soon every-

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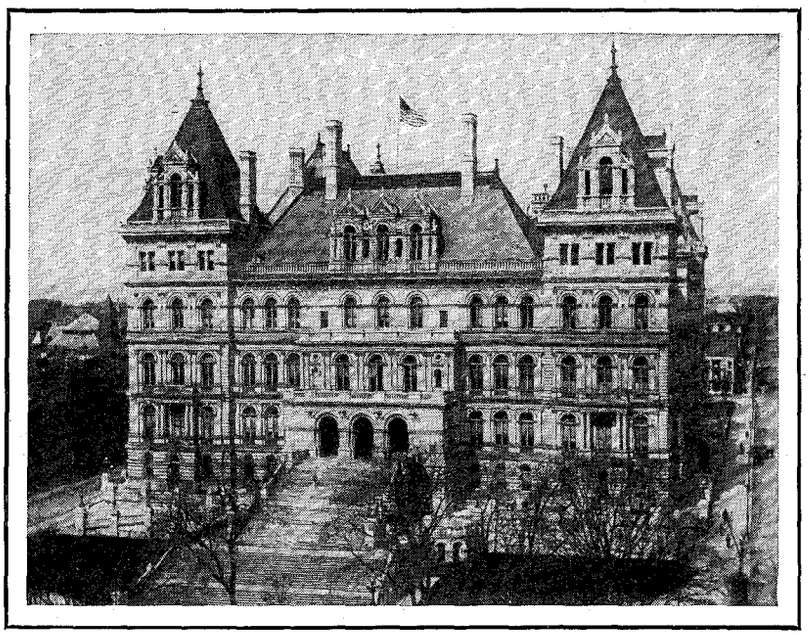

THE CAPITOL IN ALBANY

"My fighting laboratory has been practical politics and occasionally the New York Legislature. I have studied industrial problems from the outside, and taught them at Hamilton and debated them at Albany, and voted for or against industrial measures on roll-call. But the world of men in industry seemed far away"

body knew, or seemed to know, why I was there and I was able to look over their blue-prints with them and talk with them at their own machines. A time of good-fellowship and comradeship was the noon-hour, when the deep whistle blew its terrific blast and we all rushed to the long wash-basin together.

One day an acute observer in the plant said to me: "Jealousy is the most terrible thing in the world. As soon as a man begins to show his head above the average he becomes the target of every brick that anybody can throw. Jealousy sets an industrial plant back worse than anything else. I knew a manager here some years ago who because of jealousy forced out of the organization two of the brightest men we ever had. One of them is now getting elsewhere twenty-five thousand a year and the other thirty-five thousand a year. And it is the same in the rank and file. If one man is promoted to be a foreman or gets a raise in wages, a lot of fellows are always ready to say that he got the advancement through a pull or through being servile to some superior."

PETTY TYRANTS

The psychology of the factory foreman is very interesting to me. He is an important link between the management and labor. In days gone by the foreman has frequently shown all the qualities of a petty tyrant, and this more certainly if he rose from the ranks than if he did not. I inquired about the cause, and it seemed to be a universal opinion that few men can stand elevation above their fellows. The sergeant in the army is more of a tyrant than a commissioned officer. A suddenly acquired sense of power seems to be a perilous human possession. Thus the sudden rise from worker to foreman shakes the human morale of a large number of men. So clearly is this recognized that in the best-managed modern industries the foreman is now put on his mettle to show that he can deal humanly with his men. In case of prolonged controversy between workers and the foreman, the best-managed modern industry gets rid of its foreman and not of the workers, instead of backing the foreman through thick and thin. The tendency generally is in any event to take away from the foreman the last word about hiring and firing, and invest it in a highly competent employment manager.

"You see, it's about this way," said one worker. "We all like those of our kind. The foreman doesn't realize it, but he is swayed by his likes and dislikes. Until he gets a lot of experience he doesn't give a man a square deal whom he doesn't like."

The foreman is closest to the workers and can do much harm in loss of production and in defective human relations. That is why modern industry has to watch him and cut his head off soon if he cannot iron out misunderstandings and meet the requirements of production. Failing in this he is dangerous. A former foreman, now the assistant superintendent in the plant, said: "At first when I became a foreman I was as arrogant as the devil. And I had to get over it."

Some men get over it and some never do. I was interested to find that most of the men who had risen to superintendencies and assistant superintendencies were rich in human sympathy and in modest human nature.

The shop superintendent could have given advice to the President of the United States on one important matter. He said: "I have grown to understand that the best thing that can happen to me is to pick the strongest men as my lieutenants. They cannot hurt me. The better they do their work, the better my whole job shows up and the better it is for the business. I learned something once from a notice to heads of departments tacked up on the wall of a railway office in Albany: 'If you haven't got a man qualified to take your place, get one. In case the president of the road should die, all that it will be necessary to hire will be an office boy.'"

The coarse, rough humor and bantering of the American skilled mechanic was new to me. It reminded me of a character in "The Virginian" who, when called an opprobrious name, said: "*Smile when you say it, or I'll shoot.*" It is the tone or the twinkle of the worker that gets his rough humor across safely.

Human weakness makes it necessary to lay much stress on safety appliances and compensation laws. The plant pessimist said to me: "We have to put signs on every damn post until I get tired of looking at 'em. See that fellow over there grinding his tool! He knows he ought to have his goggles on, he knows the rules, but he forgets or he just won't do it or he takes a chance. He'll get a piece of metal into his eye, and the community has to foot the bill. Only about ten per cent of these machines really need a guard, but we have to guard all of 'em because of this damn fool human nature."

In the employment office I got a glimpse of the rising cockiness and aggressiveness of the foreign-born worker as distinguished from the American. He has been suddenly catapulted from Old World conditions into a land of plenty beyond his dreams, and the war wages and recent labor need have given him in many cases a touch of ignorant arrogance. The pinch of hard times may alter this temper. The plant pessimist spoke of the harm done during the war by paying large wages to young boys.

"The chances are," said he, "that we have made damned loafers out of those boys seven times out of ten. It takes experience to know how to live. And it isn't safe that the foreign-born should have so much prosperity in America until they learn to use it."

What brought these people here and herded them in race colonies in congested cities? The mills and factories. They are responsible for the unassimilated, undigested human mass. Would it not be wise to slow down on immigration for a generation and give assimilation a chance to catch up, give the foreign-born whom we have with us a chance to become the kind of people we are and to be genuinely and really a part of us?

THE CAUSES OF "SOLDIERING"

I got a new insight into "soldiering"—that is, taking it easy, lying down on the work. There is no doubt, as I think Emerson alleged, that most men are as lazy as they dare to be. Few individuals take to hard work naturally. That was the function of slavery in early

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times, to get men in large numbers into the habit of work. One tribe conquered another tribe and put the conquered to toil. The Normans slowly bred in the enserfed Anglo-Saxons of England the habit of work, and that was the final making of the Anglo-Saxons. They came through strong, and pushed the idling Normans out of power, and have themselves been in power all over the world ever since. But such "soldiering" as there is in American industry is partly also the product of the industrial system. It is partly the fault of poor, unhuman, untactful foremanship—a fine foreman in the plant with me claims that fifty per cent of it is thus caused. That is probably too large. And the war methods of American industry increased "soldiering." A vast amount of production was called for on the cost-plus basis. The drag-net was thrown out for workers in every direction. Many factories were saturated with excess of help. Easy-going ways readily developed when the volume of workers, at any wage to procure them, was greater than the ill-organized volume of work.

One of the chief causes of "soldiering" seems to be the doubt about steady and continuous employment on the part of the worker. The staid economist jeers at the fallacy of the union belief that slowing up of effort will "make work" for a greater number. But the laborer who has been connected with an industry which is cursed with slack times, who has seen a rushing business followed again and again by a period of unemployment, who gets word through underground channels that the raw stock is running low and that the faster he works the sooner he and his comrades will be out on the street again looking perhaps for a long time in vain for a livelihood, who believes the charge that there have been many shut-downs in this country only for the purpose of keeping prices up by causing demand to speed hot-footed after supply, who hears that speculation in materials and not the steady flow of materials often controls output and employment—how can you blame a generation of workers, schooled in this combination of fact and belief, if they "soldier" on their jobs, with the thought that they are keeping employment steadier for a greater number of their kind?

Smith & Lindsley, Syracuse

A CROWD OF EMPLOYEES OUTSIDE THE AUTOMOBILE FACTORY IN SYRACUSE

"Last summer I got a letter from a manufacturer in Central New York. . . . What I think he had in mind was this: . . . Why not give this college professor and legislator a look at the inside? . . . I turned up at the plant and became No. 4626. . . . What interested me most was the great human side of the industry"

THE NEW FREEDOM

The American worker insists on a reasonable measure of personal liberty, and the mass of factory workers are still smarting under the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment by a process which they regard as the snap judgment of war conditions. Most of them could get along without beer, but a large majority of them are still resentfully quarreling with the fate which denies them the long-accustomed privilege of taking a drink when and where they please.

The American worker also dislikes being regarded as merely a worker, a member of a lower social class in his country. Above all, he is demanding an opportunity for self-expression and a square deal. This tendency is the moving force of the great tide of so-called industrial democracy. This means to the worker a great deal more than shop committees and industrial councils. The worker has not been alone in his sense of serfdom. It has been felt by the members of a political organization in the invisible presence of the power of the inner ring; the small merchant who does not dare to think differently from what his banker thinks; the member of the college faculty who kowtows faithfully to the patron trustee.

These men have their prejudices as well as their generosities. They will tell you that the Interchurch World Movement was wrecked because it ran head on against the brotherhood of wealth, which they hold is in eternal conflict with the brotherhood of man. They blame management and capital for evils for which the management and capital of any plant are only remotely responsible. When the falling off in the demand for automobiles came last summer, chiefly because the bankers of the country would not extend further credit to automobile dealers, and the workers were dropped by the hundred, one worker said to another on the street car:

"Well, I hear you got laid off, too. How long have you worked there?"

"Three years," said his comrade.

"Well, that shows how much they think of you, too. We don't own our own jobs."

The majority of these men would overturn the Eighteenth Amendment. And yet there are evidences of a better judgment forming. An intelligent foreman talked to me of the clearer minds of some of his men as soon as they let up on drink.

"They think of things they never thought of before," said he. "A while ago the newspapers had a lot to say about talking with Mars, and one of my men who had quit drinking because he had to, timidly asked me one day if I would explain this Mars business to him. I did as best I could, and he absorbed it like a child. While he was drinking he wouldn't have given a darn about it. There is a big intelligence in these men that has not been tapped. These fellows begin to understand that the saloon was never their real friend. This same man who wanted to talk about Mars came to me around Christmas-time and said:

" 'What do you think? I can't go to the saloon nights, and so I am buying a Victrola and staying at home with the kids.' "

In this plant, where the percentage of discharge for drinking was formerly high, since the abolition of the saloon less than one-tenth of one per cent are discharged for this cause.

CAUSES OF UNREST

One of the blacksmiths, speaking of vacation, said: "I thought last night I was going out of town with my family on a little vacation, too; but I got home and found that the landlord had been around and was going to raise my rent so high that I can't afford to go on a vacation. The politicians have been putting assessments up in the city and the landlord is passing the extra taxes on to me."

A workman who had taken off his shoes to rest his feet said:

"You see those shoes? I went home

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the night before last and I said to the wife, 'I must have a new pair of shoes.' She said: 'All right; go downtown and get a good pair, because a good pair is cheaper in the end.' And I said: 'I have only six dollars to put into shoes at the most, and I can't get a good pair that I would like short of fifteen dollars.' And the best I could do when I got downtown was this pair at $4.50 in a bargain sale. They are not what I want. They don't fit exactly, and I have to take them off once in a while until I get them worked in. I would not buy such trash if I could help it; but what can I do?"

Worry seems to be the greatest single cause of unrest and inefficiency and lack of production—worry about a man's own health or the health of his family, worry about what will happen to his family if he is disabled or dies, the haunting fear of the loss of his job. The man who solves the problem of the stabilization of employment would just now be one of the greatest benefactors of mankind.

Also the monotony of modern factory specialization contributes greatly to unrest, I believe. The vice-president here was telling me of a worker who came in recently for a job. When they inquired what he had been doing previously, he said: "Me work on nut 45 in Ford." A man performing a simple automatic operation, who has nothing to do but watch his fellows and brood upon his and their unsatisfactory condition, begins to see red after a while about the inadequacy of his wage and the pettiness of his bosses. And the result is apt to be a desire of change for change's sake, for larger and larger wages which may be unfair to the employer and the public, for violence and excitement—anything to relieve the strain of monotony.

The man who solves the problem of monotony of operation in industry would be another exceedingly great benefactor of mankind. It is one of the chief causes of ineffective production and industrial unrest. It is an important factor in a large labor turnover. You cannot get men, especially young men without family ties, to stay long in one place, on one operation, even at a high wage. There is danger of the very high progressive methods of specialization getting rapidly to the point of diminishing returns. As one man expressed it to me, "It's too near slavery!" We have here a problem not only in industry, but of course also in citizenship.

Managers are going at this problem of monotonous specialization through training schools within the plant. There is one here where I am. A great rubber plant in Akron has a large school for apprentices between fifteen and eighteen years of age, where a general high school education is carried on side by side with a technical training in many of the operations of the particular industry. Such an apprentice is not only a better citizen, but he can perform more than one operation, and change from one t another occasionally is a relief. Th broader education of apprentices coul be carried on in every large city wit good results, as it is being carried o in Dayton by the National Cash Registe Corporation, the industrial high school of the city acting in unison with th plant and with the technical universit at Cincinnati.

Our superintendent tells me that ever week at the foremen's conference i adopted the plan of giving each man a problem to work out and report on a the next meeting. He says it doesn' make much difference whether the prob lem is immediately practical or not. I starts the mental activity, develops men and helps to cut down productive hour and costs. Breadth of interest makes a better specialist. That is the reason, I suppose, that the keenest managers like their technical experts to have a good college education.

There is a fatigue period in machine industry beginning in the morning be tween ten and eleven and in the after noon between three and four. It is therefore of the greatest consequence that the lunch hour in a great plant should have careful attention. If the men rush out to junk hash houses and eat hurriedly a coarse and unbalanced ration, and then stand outdoors and bake on the sidewalk in the summer or freeze in the winter, they are not prepared properly for the work of the afternoon. A great lunch floor, well lighted, with a balanced meal, well served, at cost, with opportunity for smoking and perhaps music or movies, is one of the most profitable, as well as one of the most human, of modern industrial developments. Any large factory without it is a back number.

In a later issue Senator Davenport will tell of some other experiences of his as No. 4626 in a factory.

THE TYRANT

BY ONE WHO KNEW HIM

UNCLE BEN, the villagers all call him, and indeed most of the folk along that pleasant New England countryside are his kin, and proud to acknowledge the relationship. He is a big man, six feet tall and two hundred pounds in weight, and when I first visited the valley fifteen years ago he was proudly seventy-five years young. Though he had done the heaviest farm work all his life, he stood as straight as a soldier, and his white hair and beard and his jovial face with its round rosy cheeks made him resemble very closely a picture-book Santa Claus.

Surely there was nothing in this man's appearance to suggest Adonoram, the well-drawn character in Mary Wilkins Freeman's story "The Revolt of Mother," nor did his home resemble in the least the dreary place in which Lizzie and Sammie had been brought up. The house was comfortable, with a good-sized pantry adjoining the cheery kitchen, a sunny sitting-room, and a stiff little parlor where an old rosewood piano stood. Aunt Abbie graduated from a select female seminary back in the fifties, and the thin sweet voice of the instrument still tinkled bravely under the touch of her roughened fingers. The bedroom was large and airy, and there were pleasant chambers above-stairs that could accommodate a host of grandchildren at holiday time. And yet—

How Adonoram would have gloried in Uncle Ben's farm buildings! They stretched in an irregular line from the back door to the edge of the home meadow: the carriage house, with slatted shelves for seed corn above the ample floor space; the large chicken-house, with row upon row of nests; the ice-house, filled each winter from the near-by river; the milk-house, equipped in the most up-to-date way; the big horse barn, an imposing structure with huge haymows above the stables; and the cow barn, with comfortable accommodations for twenty-five cows. Two hundred acres of the choicest land in the valley lay about these well-kept buildings, and any man might well be proud of such possessions.

If days instead of years had passed since my first meeting with Uncle Ben and Aunt Abbie, his gentle little wife, my memories of it could not be more vivid. I was spending a summer with a schoolmate at the other end of the valley, and we had driven over to solicit for a Ladies' Aid supper. Aunt Abbie won my heart at once, and when she suggested that I stop and rest while my friend went on to the next house I was only too glad to comply. Presently she invited me upstairs to look at a wonderful old quilt that had been her mother's, and we were soon in the midst of an animated discussion of patchwork designs. Suddenly a thunderous voice bellowed from below, "Mother!" The

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WARNING

BY AMELIA JOSEPHINE BURR

Ask me nothing now, my dear—
The stars are all too large and near;
At dusk the peepers in the pool
Make my pulses play the fool;
Robins with morning winds awake
And in my spirit barriers break;
The willows are too golden green,
The grasses are too young and clean,
The little brooks too loud and swift;
Too red a crest the maples lift.
The heart of life beats high and glad—
Can we keep wise when earth goes mad?
Do not ask me anything
Lest misfortune fall.
I am in love with Love and Spring
And not with you at all!

little lady sprang to her feet and flew down the stairs as though some one's life depended upon her haste. I followed, expecting some awful calamity. Apparently nothing unusual was going on. As I reached the door the big man remarked, calmly: "Going to town. Where's my pocketbook?" As she handed it to him Aunt Abbie was looking him over carefully. "Wait a minute, father. I must brush your hair, and you need a clean collar. Come in, child, come in." And while I visited with Uncle Ben his wife put on his collar, fastened his tie, tucked a clean handkerchief into his pocket, and smoothed his thick white hair.

During the five years that followed I spent many a happy day with Aunt Abbie. The scene which I had witnessed on my first visit to the house I found to be a daily, almost an hourly, occurrence. Every time Uncle Ben entered the house that commanding cry of "Mother!" rang through the quiet rooms. No matter what Aunt Abbie was doing—cleaning the attic, shaking the furnace, rolling out cookies, or taking a nap—she hurried to his side. I have sometimes wondered what would have happened if just once she had answered with that familiar phrase, "In a minute." The old man's imperious demands were those of a spoiled child. It was evident that he neither knew nor cared where any of his belongings were—"mother" always laid out his clothes and supplied him with clean collars and handkerchiefs. She fastened his shoes and put on his rubbers. She kept his diary and made out his checks. She cooked the food he brought according to his direction, and at the end of the day she read aloud from his agricultural papers while he dozed on the sofa. Just how she managed to keep her home so exquisitely neat, her cookie jar filled, and her grandchildren supplied with knitted socks and mittens was a mystery. She was a wonderful manager.

Adonoram's wife was mistress within her tiny house, with its shabby walls and scant furnishings; but Uncle Ben's wife, in her more comfortable home, was merely valet, secretary, and cook. Her husband bought, not only cows, but household supplies as well, without her knowledge and consent. No great crisis came to bring the thought of revolt to Aunt Abbie's patient soul. For years no word or look betrayed the fact that she realized the slavery of her life. When, flushed with happiness, I went to her to tell of my own coming marriage, however, she said: "Husbands are what we make them, child. Don't you ever begin the way I did. At the start a man is glad to consider his wife, and don't you let yours know any different. He'll be happier that way, and you'll live to do for him longer."

There came a time when there was dust on the old piano and the cookie jar was often empty. More and more frequently Aunt Abbie was roused from the sofa by her husband's voice, and we noticed that her hands shook when she tried to fasten collar buttons and shoestrings with the old haste. Every one except Uncle Ben knew that the little lady was wearing out. If we who loved her voiced our fears, he was indignant—he was hale and hearty at eighty, and was she not a full ten years younger? A bit tired to-day, that was all. Aunt Abbie was tired—tired out—and we could not grieve when she fell asleep one soft spring morning, though we should miss her sadly.

Uncle Ben is ninety now. He is not as spry as he used to be, but he is still wonderfully hale and hearty; while the devoted daughter who has answered his summons since "mother" slipped away is aging fast. As in the days when Aunt Abbie met his demands with such loving, loyal patience, he is proud of his age, proud of his strength, and utterly unconscious of his tyranny.

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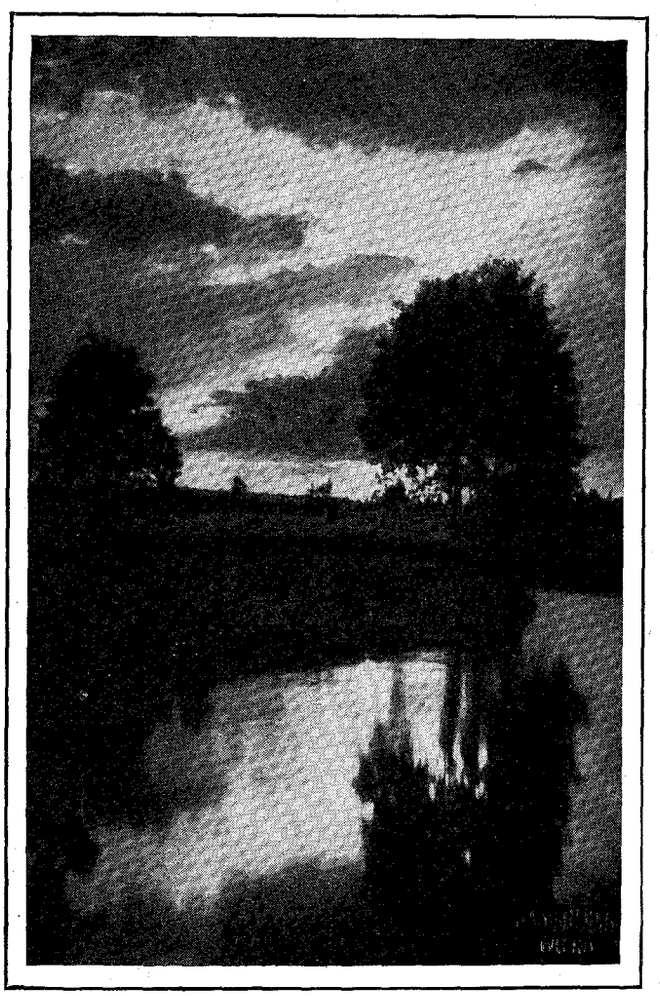
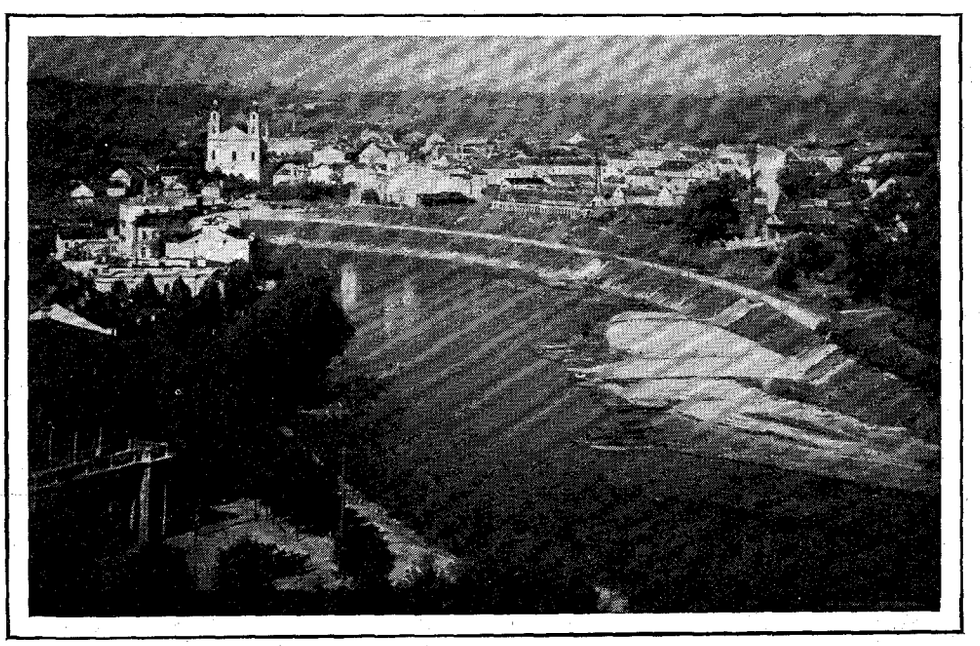
PEACE IN POLAND

PICTURES OF THE CITY OF VILNA AS SEEN BY A RED CROSS WORKER



SUNSET IN ONE OF VILNA'S PARKS



A VIEW OF THE CITY OF VILNA AND OF THE WILSKA RIVER ON WHICH IT IS SITUATED

Vilna (or Wilna) is an old town, with an imperial palace, a cathedral built in the fourteenth century, and other buildings of historic interest. A plebiscite to determine the city's future governmental allegiance will soon be held

From Wanda M. Caswell, Elmhurst, L. I.

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THE BOOK TABLE

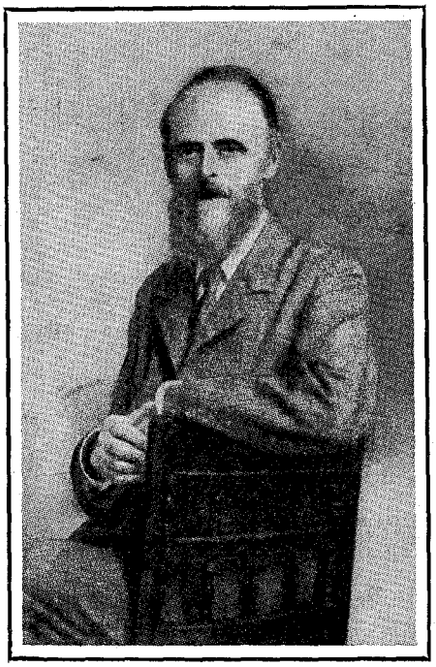
WILLIAM DE MORGAN'S LAST NOVEL

IT is not often that the relation between reader and writer is so intimately personal in feeling as it was in the case of the author of "Joseph Vance," "Somehow Good," "It Can Never Happen Again," and the many other long, rambling, and entertaining stories that in varying degrees have given pleasure to all those English and American readers who are not afraid of being called lovers of the Victorian type of fiction. De Morgan quietly but incessantly cultivated this intimacy. It was of the kind that existed between Thackeray and his admirers, but not between Dickens and his countless readers, and this although De Morgan always stoutly maintained that as a writer he owed most to Dickens. However that may be, De Morgan had a way of his own of taking the reader into his confidence, of slyly sharing a joke with him, of involving him by what he once called his "button-holey" manner in a sort of *sotto voce* discussion of situation and motive. The result is that one feels a personal loss now that he can no longer look forward to "the next De Morgan," and even in a measure a personal grief that so delightful and lovable a personality as William De Morgan has finished his course.

To be perfectly frank, neither "The Old Man's Youth"[1] (no one can reasonably be expected to quote the complete cumbrous title, given in the foot-note) nor the preceding posthumous novel, "The Old Madhouse," may be ranked with the three novels named above in virility and charm. In both the manner is the same; the quality is there, the talk is clever and humorous, but the total impression is fainter, as might be expected of a man doing creative imaginative work after his seventy-fifth year.

But, if one would not select "The Old Man's Youth" as a reader's introduction to De Morgan, it should surely be read by all confirmed admirers. It has his touch and his charm, if not his full flood of vitality. It is not, moreover, a work half De Morgan's and half not, as some erroneous advance notes have stated. His wife, who has also died since the work was completed, has stated that, with the exception of a very few brief connecting and concluding chapters (which are pointed out by being called "The Story," while the rest is "The Narrative of Eustace John"), the book is left exactly as her husband wrote it. At least nine-tenths is De Morgan verbatim. The chief structural defect of the story is the premature disclosure, dramatically speaking, of the peculiarly heartless criminal act of a self-seeking woman. This is told in one of the interpolated short chapters, and one wonders whether Mrs. De Morgan could have misunderstood the intention. Probably not; but it was not like De Morgan to dispel the mystery of a situation until he simply had to do so. In the main Mrs. De Morgan's chapters carry on the tale clearly.

A single passage may be quoted from "The Old Man's Youth" as an illustration of the author's fashion of playing about in a byway of criticism:



WILLIAM DE MORGAN

> Few of us have the hardihood to express opinions about color to real artists, but now and then a meek voice rises in protest against emerald green eyes and blackberry-juice lips, and is told that its owner is color-blind. How can he know that he isn't? And when he points out that another real artist has painted the same original with emerald green lips and blackberry-juice eyes, he does not score a single run. Because that is interpretation. It is always a case of heads, Inspiration wins; tails, you lose. Respectful silence is always open to bystanders, whose consolation it must be to reflect that the most original and powerful neosophies may pass and be forgotten.

It is odd that De Morgan's last book should have had in part the same theme as his first. "Joseph Vance" appeared in 1906—and it is a pleasure to record that The Outlook's reviewer then referred to it as "a novel that aligns itself with the best English fiction." The reviewer noted also that Joseph Vance (the narrator, not his father) is "a sweet-spirited old man who has loved much, known many friends worth knowing, and suffered in silence for love's sake." Almost these words might be used of the old man who narrates his life in this last work. The message of the two is not the same. Mr. De Morgan himself stated that of "Joseph Vance" in these words: "The highest good is the growth of the soul, and the greatest man is he who rejoices most in great fulfillments of the will of God." It is true that Joseph Vance had a happy old age and that Eustace John Pascoe died in an institution, and that the tone of the one life is warm satisfaction and that of the other gentle depression and hopelessness, but the spirit of the two men is alike sweet and unselfish.

The passage above quoted from "Joseph Vance" was selected by Professor William Lyons Phelps as the *motif* of that novel, and the choice was affirmed as correct by the author. A prize had been offered to a class at Yale for the best essay on De Morgan's novels, and in corresponding with Professor Phelps De Morgan had remarked that he always tried to have a dominant *motif* in his book and wondered whether the contestants would detect that in "Joseph Vance," adding, "None of the reviewers did." This appears in an article by Professor Phelps in a recent issue of the New York "Times's" Book Review section. The article should be read by all who care for De Morgan, as it contains many extremely interesting and characteristic letters hitherto unpublished.

De Morgan's literary career, and his whole life for that matter, was remarkable and unusual. We will repeat here its outline as it was given in our columns when the first of the two posthumous novels appeared:

"He was sixty-four years old before he ever thought of novel-writing. Then, like Scott with 'Waverley,' he wrote a chapter of 'Joseph Vance,' laid it aside unfinished, and only at his wife's solicitation finally completed it and sent it to a publisher. Between 1905 and 1917 (when he died at the age of seventy-eight) he published eight novels and romances, most of them quite unusual in length and notable also for their vivacity, optimism, and cheerful philosophy; in other words, written with the spirit of youthful vigor rather than what might be expected from a man who began his apprenticeship to fiction in late middle-age. Apart from his novel-writing, Mr. De Morgan's career was one of versatile talents; he was artist, inventor, and craftsman; he took part in William Morris's movement for household art; he designed and, we believe, manufactured tiles and stained glass; he invented a duplex bicycle, a sieve, and a smoke-consuming fire-grate; he had an intense interest in aviation; during the Great War he abandoned work on 'The Old Madhouse' to study out scientific inventions for war use. In art, science, and literature his mind was active and his knowledge extensive; his ceramics and luster-ware work were said by Holman Hunt to compare well with the best Italian periods."

After her husband's death Mrs. De Mor-

[1] The Old Man's Youth and the Young Man's Old Age. By William De Morgan. Henry Holt & Co., New York.

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gan wrote an excellent account of some of his literary methods, part of which may also be here repeated:

"When my husband started on one of his novels, he did so without making any definite plot. He created his characters and then waited for them to act and evolve their own plot. In this way the puppets in the show became real, living personalities to him, and he waited, as he expressed it, 'to see what they would do next.' . . . As the story was always read to me while in progress, I, too, got to believe in the reality of the characters, and found myself thinking of them as real, live people, and I have frequently asked him, when he came down to lunch or had finished writing for the day, such a question, as, for instance, 'Well, have they quarreled yet?' and he would reply, as the case might be, 'No, I don't know if they will come to a quarrel; after all, I must wait and see what they will do.' However, toward the end of the book, when an intelligible winding up of the story became imperative, the plot was taken up and carefully considered, all the straggling threads gathered together and finally decided upon, though latitude was always allowed for details to shape themselves after their own fashion."

R. D. TOWNSEND.

THE NEW BOOKS

BOOKS FOR YOUNG FOLKS

FAIRY TALES FROM FRANCE. Adapted by William Trowbridge Larned. Illustrated. The P. F. Volland Company, New York.

OLD FRENCH FAIRY TALES. By Comtesse de Segur. Illustrated. The Penn Publishing Company, Philadelphia.

Here are two volumes of French fairy tales. One is a little book; the other is a big book. But both are exquisite in paper, print, and illustration. In the little book we find "Cinderella," "The Sleeping Beauty," and other well-known tales, told in a way not to suggest fear or cause fright. In the other book there are less well known legends; the book comprises "Blondine," "Good Little Henry," "Princess Rosette," "The Little Gray Mouse," and "Ourson." The language is well adapted to youngest readers and hearers.

FOR THE GAME'S SAKE. By Lawrence Perry. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

A volume of commonplace stories for boys written according to the time-worn formula. Why a sport writer of Mr. Perry's reputation should be guilty of such an inaccuracy as to write, "It was seven-thirty precisely and one bell was striking from each of the yachts," we do not know. This is not the only error of a similar nature in this volume.

FICTION

HOUSE IN DORMER FOREST (THE). By Mrs. Mary Webb. The George H. Doran Company, New York.

In this house on the forest's edge live the Darkes. The forest stands for freedom, nature, and beauty; the dull, commonplace house facing it stands for restraint and convention. Thus the novel is symbolic; it is also idyllic. The reactions of the Darkes to house and forest contrast the longing for liberty of spirit as against superstition and slavery of thought. There is imaginative quality here.

BIOGRAPHY

LIFE AND WORK OF SIR WILLIAM VAN HORNE (THE). By Walter Vaughan. Illustrated. The Century Company, New York.

There is romance in the railway world. As proof, note this well-written life of the boy telegrapher in Illinois who reported the Lincoln-Douglas debates, who rose in the Chicago and Alton system from train despatcher, telegraph superintendent, transportation superintendent, to the general superintendence of the Kansas City, St. Louis, and Western, to the presidency of the South Minnesota, and, finally, with all the expert knowledge thus acquired, who built the Canadian Pacific Railway; and he remained in Canada to play a great part in the national life of that country. Then he constructed the Cuban Railway, and for the first time the island's rich interior was opened to trade, transportation, and prosperity. He had now become an empire builder. Shortly before his death he said: "When I think of all I could do, I should like to live five hundred years." The grim fight he waged in his earlier years against poverty and the driving, dynamic force of his later acts are revealed in what he said some time ago:

> Our whole civilization is the outgrowth of wars. Pain and distress accompany wars, and so they do childbirth. . . . The human race continues and is the better. . . . I hold that every nation should be prepared for war. . . . Napoleon was a curse to the world, but armies are not.

By a curious coincidence the first President of the Canadian Pacific found out that his greatest rival in the railway world was the man who had warmly recommended him as the best person to build that road, namely, James J. Hill. The Canadian by birth and American by adoption was the rival of the American by birth and Canadian by adoption.

MEMOIRS OF THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE. By Comte Fleury. 2 vols. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

EMPRESS EUGÉNIE IN EXILE. By Agnes Carey. Illustrated. The Century Company, New York.

Here are two accounts—one French, one English—of a singularly picturesque woman, the Empress Eugénie. She died recently, ninety-four years old. In recounting her life Count Fleury has much to say about the connection of the French Court with the three great wars which happened during her reign: the Crimean, the Italo-Austrian, and the War of 1870 between Germany and France; indeed, he devotes his second volume to these matters, leaving to the first the more personal side. In that first volume we find many an illuminating glimpse into the lives of the members of the French Court—Princess Mathilde, for instance. Because of the Empress's well-known aversion to publicity, the author's statements may not in general be directly "inspired," though his sub-title ("Compiled from Statements, Private Documents, and Personal Letters of the Empress") would indicate the contrary. Be this as it may, his material came from intimate Court sources. The account is also valuable in its comprehensiveness. In comparison, "Empress Eugénie in Exile" offers a glimpse of less than a year of the Empress's life. The author was a member of her household and saw her subject at close range. The information in this volume is more definitely at first hand than that in Count Fleury's; the Empress's personality is revealed more vividly and more appealingly than in the larger work.

MUSIC, PAINTING, AND OTHER ARTS

FAN BOOK (THE). By MacIver Percival. Illustrated. The Frederick A. Stokes Company New York.

The art of fan-making, especially as developed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, is here described with the enthusiasm of a devoted collector of fans. A vast amount of information is given, accompanied with many illustrations of notable fans.

HISTORY AND METHODS OF ANCIENT AND MODERN PAINTING. By James Ward. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York.

This volume is the third of a four volume work on "The History and Methods of Ancient and Modern Painting." It deals with Italian painting in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, including the work of the great masters of the Florentine school and of the early Venetian painters. The text is discriminating and the pictures are unusually well chosen and reproduced.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

MAYFAIR TO MOSCOW: CLARE SHERIDAN'S DIARY. Boni & Liveright, New York.

Mrs. Sheridan is a vivacious writer. She is of English and American descent. She is a sculptor and, as she says, in Moscow portrait work, not politics, was her concern. But she saw many outstanding figures in the queer Bolshevik menagerie—Lenine and Trotsky, both of whom she "sculped," and others. She tells how they looked, acted, and talked. Like most diaries, this is scrappy, but it has sharp descriptive passages.

TOPEE AND TURBAN. By Lieut.-Col. H. A. Newell. The John Lane Company, New York.

A faithful, detailed account of motor trips in various parts of India, with a humorous slant that is often entertaining and with plenty of the author's snapshots.

EDUCATIONAL

KINDERGARTEN CHILDREN'S HOUR (THE). Vol. I—**STORIES FOR LITTLE CHILDREN;** Vol. II—**CHILDREN'S OCCUPATIONS;** Vol. III—**TALKS TO CHILDREN;** Vol. IV—**TALKS TO MOTHERS.** Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

These volumes are well compiled, combined, and arranged. Much of the material is original and the selected matter is admirably adapted for the general purpose. That purpose is clearly explained by the titles of the volumes. The complete set of books should be of value in home and public library.

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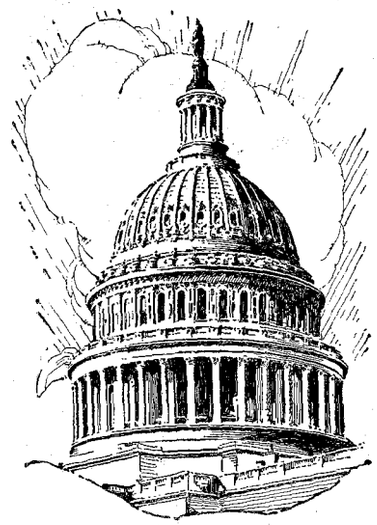
President Harding
Urges Road Maintenance. *He says—*



"I KNOW of nothing more shocking than the millions of public funds wasted in improved highways, wasted because there is no policy of maintenance. The neglect is not universal, but it is very near it. There is nothing the Congress can do more effectively to end this shocking waste than condition all Federal Aid on provisions for maintenance. Highways, no matter how generous the outlay for construction, cannot be maintained without patrol and constant repairs."

EXTRACT FROM FIRST MESSAGE
TO CONGRESS, WASHINGTON, D C.
APRIL 12, 1921

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THIS WEEK'S OUTLOOK

A WEEKLY OUTLINE STUDY OF CURRENT HISTORY[1]

BY J. MADISON GATHANY

SCARBOROUGH SCHOOL, SCARBOROUGH-ON-HUDSON, N. Y.

Rutherford B. Hayes

IN this issue of The Outlook Dr. Lyman Abbott gives us another one of his unusual snap-shots — this time of President Hayes.

Discuss the aptness of beginning a paper on President Hayes by commenting upon the Administrations of Johnson and Grant. How do the statements made by Dr. Abbott about these two Administrations help the reader to a better understanding of the policies of President Hayes?

What was the problem of reconstruction? One author speaks of the "crime of reconstruction." How was the problem handled? Was there a crime of reconstruction? If so, who was responsible for it?

What is your explanation of Dr. Abbott's statement: "By the second term of Grant's Administration the Republican party existed in two bitterly hostile factions"? What did each faction wish? Which one do you consider was in the right? Did Grant sympathize with either?

What specific illustrations and proofs can you give upholding Dr. Abbott in his belief that the most corrupt period in our National history was that which followed the Civil War?

Was there during this time a reform movement? If so, tell about its rise and growth.

What is your opinion of President Hayes's principles in selecting his Cabinet? Has, or has not, President Harding acted in accordance with these principles?

Define the following terms: *Carpetbag government, Crédit Mobilier, "Old Guard," paramount, rider to a bill, political cabal, parsimony, boomerang.*

Among the most interesting and valuable accounts of the period covered by this article and study are Chapters I through VII of "United States in Our Own Times," by P. L. Haworth (Scribner); Chapter XV of "History of the United States," by Charles and Mary Beard (Macmillan); "American History," by D. S. Muzzey (Ginn & Co.), Chapter XVII; "Lectures on the Civil War," by James Ford Rhodes (Macmillan).

Senator Davenport in Overalls

If you were the manager of a factory, on what basis would you select your foremen? What instructions would you give to them? Does the efficiency of a factory depend to a large extent upon the kind of men who are selected to manage the employees?

Senator Davenport gives us some causes of "soldiering." Can you supplement the list by citing actual illustrations? How would you make clear to a wage-earner that "soldiering" is against his own economic interest? Discuss the cure for "soldiering."

Is it true that all the capitalist-employer does is to "exploit" labor? Can you illustrate your answer?

What is the difference between the division of labor and specialization in industry?

Explain these words: *Manhandle, hornswoggle, distraught, dilettante, talisman, impugn, kowtow, labor turnover.*

The following references will help answer a number of the questions asked in this study, as well as suggest numerous other questions: "Materials for the Study of Elementary Economics," by Marshall, Wright, and Field (University of Chicago Press); "Great American Issues," by Hammond and Jenks (Scribner); "Economics for the General Reader," by Henry Clay (Macmillan); "Humanizing Industry," by R. C. Feld (Dutton).

The Pledge to South America

In its issue of April 27, 1921, The Outlook said that "Bolivar was more than a mere liberator." Was he? Reasons.

In his address President Harding also said: "It is an interesting thing to compare the careers of the two great fathers of American liberty—Bolivar and Washington." Can you make as many as six comparisons?

In delivering his address, President Harding declared that we stood ever ready to fight, if necessary, for the defense of the Monroe Doctrine. The Monroe Doctrine has been called an ancient shibboleth. Which of the two attitudes do you consider the right one? Is the Monroe Doctrine worth fighting for?

Bringing Germany to Terms

In your opinion, did President Harding act wisely and justly in refusing the German proposal that the United States act as mediator between herself and the Allies as to the reparations question?

If Germany does not pay by May 1 the amount demanded from her by the Allies, what course of action toward her do you think ought to be taken?

Did Secretary Hughes break with international traditions in dealing with the German appeal? Was the exchange of communications between Germany and the United States diplomatic negotiation?

A book which claims to interpret the problems that confront the world to-day is entitled "Problems of the New World," by J. A. Hobson (Macmillan). President Wilson's policy in dealing with foreign relations from 1913 to 1917 may be found in "The Foreign Policy of Woodrow Wilson," by Robinson and West (Macmillan).

[1] These questions and comments are designed not only for the use of current events classes and clubs, debating societies, teachers of history and English, and the like, but also for discussion in the home and for suggestions to any reader who desires to study current affairs as well as to read about them.—The Editors.

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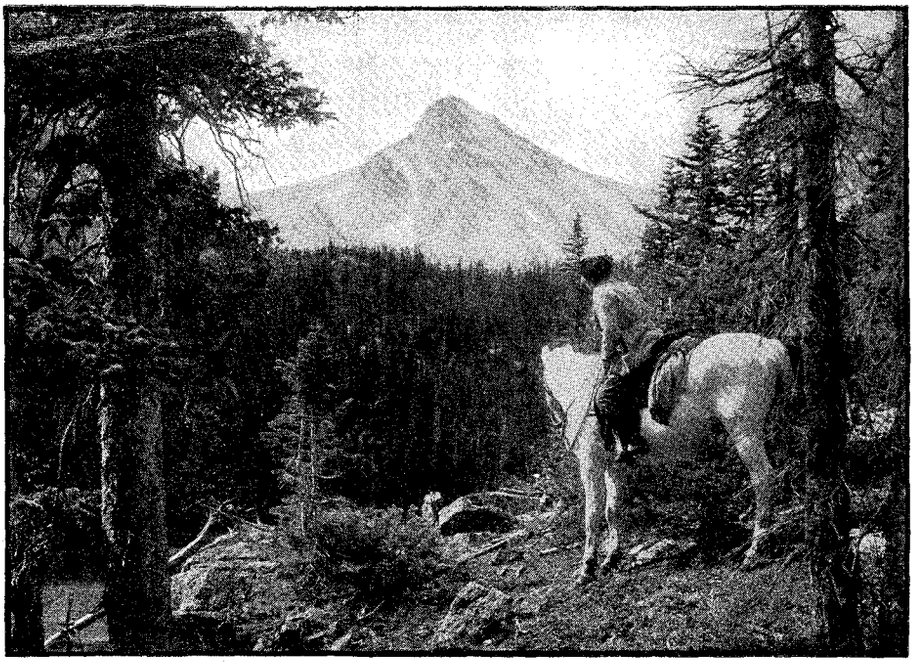
CONTRIBUTORS' GALLERY

LYMAN ABBOTT was born in the Administration of Andrew Jackson, the seventh President of the United States. Twenty-two Presidents have been in office during his lifetime. It is one of the least

conspicuous of these Presidents, though one of the wisest and most useful of public servants, that Dr. Abbott has chosen for the subject of his "Snap-Shot" in this week's issue. During the Civil War Dr. Abbott was the minister of a Congregational church in Terre Haute, Indiana. The conflict between the Northern and Southern ideas was acute in such a place. In 1865 he resigned his pastorate to become Corresponding Secretary of what was known as the Union Commission to co-operate with the Government in the work of Reconstruction. In March of that year he went South. That was at a time when it was necessary to have a pass in order to go to Nashville, much as one needs a passport to-day to go to Europe. For the four years of political anarchy known as the Reconstruction Period Dr. Abbott endeavored to promote pacific measures for moral reconstruction and for the recementing of North and South. His purpose was to offer co-operation with Southerners who had the same aim. It was this experience that perhaps enabled him to understand particularly the difficulties with which President Hayes had to deal and the measure of President Hayes's success.

FREDERICK MORGAN DAVENPORT has been ever since 1904 Professor in Law and Politics at Hamilton College, Clinton, New York. He is a graduate of Wesleyan University, Connecticut, and received his degree of Doctor of Philosophy from Columbia in 1905. At various times when partisan feeling has run high he has contributed to The Outlook political correspondence distinguished by its judicial temper and accuracy of observation. Both as a public servant and as a college teacher he has been interested in industrial questions and has brought to the legislative hall and to the lecture-room knowledge attained, not only from books, but also from men. His portrait as he appeared in the factory of which he writes is reproduced on the cover. He can be identified by his blue jumper and his red necktie.

AMELIA JOSEPHINE BURR has been a frequent contributor of verse to The Outlook.



The Red Gods are beckoning you West

~recreate this year in the greatest vacationland in the world

You out-of-door folks who "'long 'bout this time o' year" begin to feel the yearning for a tent pegged beside a stream and a whiff of blue wood-smoke, the swish of a fish line and the sound of creaking saddle leather—"hit the trail"—West!

Make 1921 the red-letter year of your life's vacation calendar! Our West is the world's greatest outdoors. It's your country—get out into it—know it—feel it!

Ride down sun-flooded, soul-stirring canyons; see memory-making nature pictures; row on rock-rimmed lakes; fish in fast flowing mountain streams; tramp down winding forest trails; loaf in wild-flower-flooded valleys; stroll in the moonlight—out in "the great alone;" eat of the fat of the land, and sleep like a babe!

Such a vacation—a complete change in your everyday life, environment and climate—getting back to Nature, tones up and overhauls one, makes him physically and mentally fit.

Out along the Burlington there are scores of places *par excellence*. There's Colorado—the State which gave the word vacation a new meaning; Rocky Mountain National-Estes Park—a veritable vacation joyland; Yellowstone—the wonder spot of America; Glacier Park—holding out Utopian allurements; and the other National Parks—each strangely different from all the others; the "Dude" Ranch country of Wyoming; the Black Hills of South Dakota; Utah, "The Promised Land;" the charmed land of the Pacific Northwest; California, with her Yosemite and Big Trees.

Go one way, return another, without extra cost; stay as long as fancy dictates. Read about it—write for the book—illustrated below—that you want.

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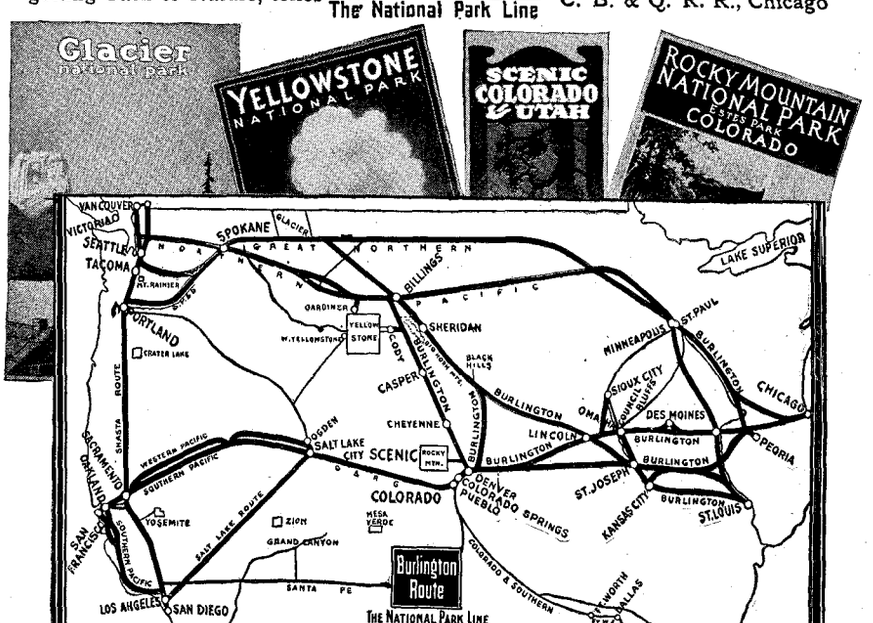

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SALT AND BALM FOR FRESH WOUNDS

A letter from Ras Priest, which we printed with a few words of comment in our issue of April 13, has stimulated some of our readers to make some comments of their own. Ras Priest, who told us he had named his only boy Lyman, recommended to the editors of The Outlook the prayer of the Psalmist

> Create in me a clean heart, O God:
> And renew a right spirit within me;

averring that The Outlook was spiritually dead and didn't know it, that for partisan reasons the editors had "become the yokefellows and the flaming evangels of the most reactionary and sinister group in our politics," and had "stood by and held the garments of those who stoned to death the prophet." While these faithful wounds are fresh we print the three letters of comment which follow.—THE EDITORS.

I

IT would be strange if your mail did not contain remonstrances against the undue strictures cast upon The Outlook by Ras Priest in his letter, appearing in the issue of April 13, wherein he somewhat illogically concludes that The Outlook is "spiritually dead." Yet that letter has encouraged me to offer a word on the subject which I had not the temerity, perhaps, to offer in competition for your Constructive Criticism Prize.

Mr. Priest's premises, in my humble opinion, are principally founded on fact, and, albeit with more or less unseemly overstatement and rancor, he has described tersely the general impression I have gained of The Outlook's attitude toward Woodrow Wilson.

I have long liked to think of Charles W. Eliot, Lyman Abbott, and Woodrow Wilson as the three most potent moral teachers and leaders of our time, Dr. Eliot's field having been primarily the youth and universities of the country; Dr. Abbott's, The Outlook readers and his numerous audiences; and Woodrow Wilson's, the citizenry of the civilized world.

Now of course great minds honestly differ on economic, political, financial, industrial, social, theological, and like questions. Being a lawyer, I understand how jurists honestly differ on points of law. It is often hard to know the right and wrong of a question of policy, or expediency, or diplomacy. But on a question of ethics—a moral issue—the line of demarcation between right and wrong should not be so difficult of definition, and we like to feel that when the performance of a moral obligation is in issue we may know upon which side to find most right-minded men arrayed. And the question of our joining the League of Nations involved the acknowledgment and discharge of moral obligations, and hence presented an issue essentially moral. (If this be not conceded, I can best cite an article by Dr. Eliot in the "Atlantic Monthly" for October or November, 1920.)

The state of extraordinary moral exaltation to which during the war we were elevated—and in the creation of which Dr. Abbott and Dr. Eliot, as well as Woodrow Wilson, played no small

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part—was insidiously assailed and eventually degraded to what now resembles an obsession of National self-interest. Responsibility for this cannot, in my judgment, be wholly avoided by the materialistic or anti-idealistic element of the Senate.

Quite naturally, we looked to our great moral teachers and leaders to champion the ideals upon which our exalted moral condition was founded, to strive to maintain that state, and accordingly to be governed first and foremost by the moral consideration in taking their stand on the League issue.

Dr. Eliot did so. He forsook his political party and, I feel sure, a large part of his constituency, and vigorously defended those ideals, recognizing the moral aspect of the League issue and insisting upon the fulfillment of our moral obligation before considering matters of apparent National self-interest or diplomacy.

Woodrow Wilson did so. Although subjected to incalculable pressure, he refused to look away from the moral aspect of the situation, and, while he made mistakes—blunders, if you will—and was unfortunately tactless in dealing with the Senate, he exhausted his body and almost his mind (but not his spirit) in striving to prevent our country from shirking a moral duty.

Dr. Abbott did not do so. Somewhat to my surprise, he did not see the moral aspect of the question as the others saw it. And, to my dismay, his organ apparently chose "to disfigure itself with partisanship rather than to transfigure itself with patriotism," to use the happy (rather, unhappy) phrase of Leila Sellers, whose letter you reproduced in The Outlook of March 30.

For this I am not so presumptuous as to heckle Dr. Abbott or The Outlook. And please do not feel slighted if I do not hold you accountable for the defeat of the League of Nations. It merely happens to strike me as more or less inconsistent for America's most high-minded editor and most moral lay periodical to have espoused the cause of expediency, diplomacy, practicability, patriotism, safety, Americanism—call it what you will—when a fundamentally moral question confronted them.

If I seem unduly to prolong discussion of a question no longer mooted, permit me to suggest that the League issue is not dead, and cannot die until the European Powers discard the League or America, upon some footing, becomes a member thereof.

Yes, I am a Democrat. I became one because of Woodrow Wilson.

Toledo, Ohio. PAUL WM. ALEXANDER.

II

WE did not name any of our boys Lyman; but we began housekeeping, many years ago, with The Outlook, and very little furniture. The Outlook has been periodically renewed, likewise the furniture—both necessary in our housekeeping.

The weekly visits of The Outlook have been welcome because we have not agreed on all points with its editors. I think if we had you would have been

SEATTLE is the healthiest city in the world

By C. T. CONOVER

THIS IS not a chance happening for one year, but an unbroken record over a long period of years, according to the Mortality Statistics of the United States government. For instance, according to latest available figures Seattle's death rate was 8.6 per 1,000, Spokane's 9.5, Los Angeles' 12.9, Cincinnati's 14.2, St. Paul's 14.3, Philadelphia's 14.5, Boston's 14.9, San Francisco's 15.1, Baltimore's 15.5, Washington's 15.6, New Orleans' 19.7, and Trenton's 20.1. Your expectancy of life will be materially increased by living in Seattle.

Seattle is in a class by itself in respect to the low rate of infant mortality, 55 per 1000. In other words, *the infant born in Seattle has approximately 95 chances out of 100 of surviving and several times more chances of attaining adult life than the baby born in the East or the Middle West.* It will also be a sturdier and stronger person. Seattle is a paradise for children—infantile complaints are practically unknown.

Seattle's health record is due to an entire absence of extremes of heat and cold, of cyclones, hurricanes, earthquakes and severe electrical storms—a climate soothing to nervous troubles and that invites one out of doors the year round, an abundance of pure water, an altogether exceptional milk supply, perfect drainage and a scenic environment whose beauty and sublimity tend to lift one above the petty trials of life.

The climate gives a 20 per cent. margin in manufacturing costs due to increased efficiency of labor, a fact well demonstrated in competition.

Seattle is the center of the richest area on the continent in basic resources —timber, agriculture, horticulture, dairying, mining, coal, fisheries, etc.—is by far the nearest Pacific Coast port to the Orient and the chief railroad center on the Pacific Coast.

Seattle's harbor is classed by shipping men as the best in the world and her docks and cargo handling equipment are superior to anything on the coast.

Seattle is a wonder city—grown from 4,000 to 350,000 during the writer's business life. *The big opportunities are still ahead.* Whether you simply want to enjoy life and live long, or have an industry to establish or a branch to locate, send for Seattle's inspiring story, " Seattle, the Seaport of Success."

"I think that this Puget Sound country, perhaps because of its climate and its ideals is breeding a stronger and better fibered civilization than is elsewhere apparent in this country." — W. C. Edens, of the Central Trust Co., Chicago.

"It is the charmed land of the American continent, with the most restful and soothing climate in the world, the land where 'it is always afternoon' and the ideal home for the blond races upon this American continent."— Dr. Woods Hutchinson.

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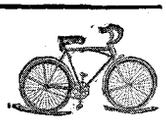

To Summer Resort Proprietors

The Outlook will devote five spring and early summer issues to special advertising of summer resorts, tours and travel. These will be the issues of

May 11 and 25
June 8 and 22 :: :: July 6

The issue of May 25 will be the special annual travel and resort number containing articles on vacation subjects and illustrations especially selected. The corresponding issue of 1920 carried 198 advertisements of hotels and resorts.

WRITE US EARLY AND WE WILL BE GLAD TO GIVE YOU COPY SUGGESTIONS

Department of Classified Advertising

The Outlook Company, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York City

SALT AND BALM FOR FRESH WOUNDS—*Continued*

tiresome and the visits would have been discontinued long ago.

My aged father, a retired clergyman, lived with us before his death, and how he did disagree with The Outlook's theology! At the last he could read only with the aid of a magnifying-glass the size of a saucer; but he never missed a number. It was on these points of disagreement that he loved to dwell, to study, to "sputter," and to grow.

Evidently Ras Priest is discontinuing The Outlook just when it is beginning to be most valuable to him.

My subscription renewed herewith.

Minneapolis, Minnesota. C. E. PURDY.

III

BECAUSE of the undeserved attack in the letter from Ras Priest printed in your magazine of April 13, I hasten to show my appreciation of your "spiritually dead" magazine by renewing my subscription for another year. I could not afford it before, but this article has changed my mind and I hasten to the aid of my friends, at the same time gratifying myself.

I am a subscriber of years' standing, and each number, after reading, is sent to a son in Schenectady, who enjoys it as much as I. R. J.

Chaumont, New York.

MELODRAMA

I HAVE just read your editorial "A Mammoth Movie, but a Tawdry Melodrama." You say, "In such pictures virtue always triumphs and the villain 'gets his.'" Does not all religion teach us to believe that that is true in real life? Does not history prove it? May we not believe our Bible when it says, "Never have I seen the righteous forsaken," "The way of the transgressor is hard"? Are we not told in many places that the transgressor (villain) does "get his" and of the good (virtuous) man that "all his paths are peace"? Please help us out on what to believe.

Who wants "art," anyway, when he goes to a movie? Generally it is like this. We have had a hard, grinding day. If at home, drudgery; if at the office, wearing monotonous tasks; in school, nerve exhausting work, teaching the "young idea." Just at this time in the twenty-four hours we hate every one of those young ideas. In the morning we shall love them all again. But now. "What to do?" "What to do?" A movie! Come on, girls; come on, boys. Not *the* movie, but *a* movie. Finally, we are there, in a pretty, quiet place, dim light for our tired eyes, soft, pleasant music. Is the music itself "art"? We don't know, we don't care, we don't listen; we only know it is there and that it is restful. Then the "show" begins. If only, in some way, the ads could be eliminated!

Let us agree that the story itself is "cheap melodrama." (We are a woman, and so we come back to the original argument that life itself is melodrama, going on all about us.) Yes, we agree about the story and we know we can't

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have everything. In your closing remarks you have given us a hint that there is some "art" to be had at this movie, after all. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was art as Mrs. Stowe gave it to us, but scenically, as we have seen it!

So, to quote you again, "It is but fair to add that from the scenic point of view alone ''Way Down East' is extremely well worth seeing. There are charming pictures of New England country life, out of doors and indoors; a quite remarkable, reticent use of color in some of the pictures; while the effects of storm, of the breaking up of great ice fields, and especially of the crashing and fall of ice masses over a dam, are perhaps unequaled in the history of moving-picture production in this country." Why, that is just what we came to see. Again, to quote, 'Looked at thus baldly, apart from the scenic effects, what could be less valuable as art? One feels that there has been a tremendous expenditure of effort and skill in producing something which is worthless."

May I reverse the question? Looked at thus baldly, apart from the melodrama, what could be more valuable as art? I have never seen New England country life, indoors or out. I want to see it. I have never seen great ice fields break up. I want to see that, too, and "the crashing and fall of masses over a dam." I shall certainly go to ''Way Down East" if I get the chance. And I do hope Mr. Griffith will some day be moved to make a movie of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Think of Eliza running over those real ice fields (not canvas ones), carrying a real baby (not just a pillow covered with a shawl), and we would get a "close up" of the baby, laughing or crying! How we love the movie babies!

Again we ask, What is art? If you will watch the people in any library reading-room for a few hours, you will see that ten look at the pictures in "National Geographic" where one reads the text. My life, like millions of others, has been circumscribed. Westward I have gone as far as Chicago, eastward to New York. And yet, thanks to the producers and directors and actors and photographers and the rest, I have seen the wonders of nearly every and under the sun. I have seen the seas and all that in them is. I have had wonderful rides in the airplane, with most of the attendant sensations. I have been in battles, in wrecks at sea, have attended Peace Conferences, hobnobbing with the great ones of the earth. I have shaken hands with President Harding—that is, almost. I have become acquainted with animals and birds I never knew existed.

In our town we have the "Garden." The very name is restful. The decorations consist of latticework, with trailing vines and flowers. In the ceiling, which is high and domelike, are real twinkling stars. There is a large pipe organ. Originally it (the "Garden") was a church, and I think of it still as a church and I say, "Thank all the powers that be," that have accomplished this wonderful thing, not perfected yet, but greatly enlarging and enriching our lives.

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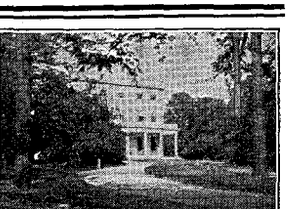

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